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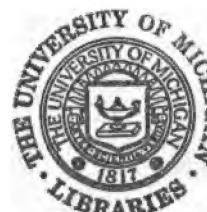
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GROVER CLEVELAND

WILLIAM McKINLEY

*After the painting by S. Jerome Uhl.
Both of which are in the Corcoran Gallery, Washington.*

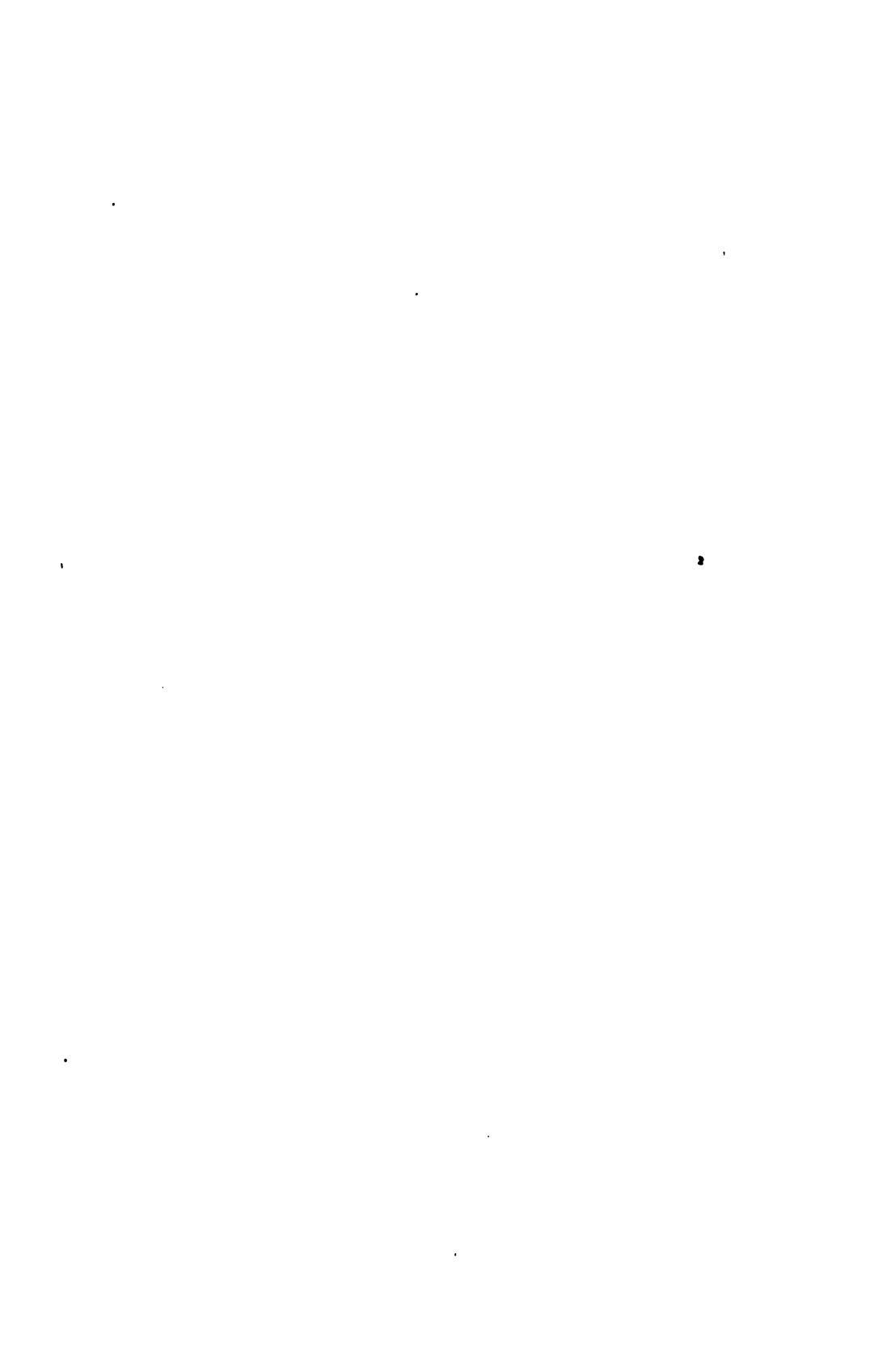
THE

HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA

Francis Newton Thorpe, Ph. D.

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University of Pennsylvania, Editor



THE HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICA
VOLUME EIGHTEEN *THE DEVELOPMENT
OF THE NORTH SINCE THE CIVIL WAR*

BY

JOSEPH MORGAN ROGERS, A. M.

Author of: *A History of the United States; The True Henry Clay;*
A Life of Thomas H. Benton, etc., etc.

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

THIS volume on the development of the North is the analogue of Volume XVII, *The Rise of the New South*, and covers the period of forty years since the close of the Civil War. The learned author has not attempted a critical analysis of causes affecting the period, but has written a plain narrative of events, with excursions into the principal fields which are the theatre of activity at the North since the War,—invention, education, art, industry, and social progress. No task which the historian undertakes is more laborious than to write the history of one's own time. Individuals, incidents, overcrowd the perspective and quite shut out the true line of vision; momentous events seem fragmentary, and passing incidents seem momentous: the unit of measure, which time alone can give, is lacking, and the even balance of parts becomes quite impossible.

Fully aware of the difficulties in treating his theme, Mr. Rogers has not attempted the impossible, and the modest spirit which characterizes that which he has written is a dignified assurance to the reader of the value of the volume.

The distinguishing quality of life and thought in America since the Civil War is energy. Americans are not accused of undue modesty when they point to their past achievements, yet those achievements might seem to excuse, or at least partly to excuse, some overstepping the modesty of nature. Every age of the world has its marvels, and America, during the last forty years, has experienced a marvellous transformation

and an almost unparalleled prosperity. It is so great, so enveloping, so comprehensive, so vital to all Americans, that any adequate account of it seems boastful. The nation was profoundly stirred by the Civil War. The American mind, never sluggish, was stimulated to activity by the necessities of that terrible struggle; and when peace came, the intellect of the people could not drowse, but, already stimulated as never before, must address itself to the problems of peace with the same fiery zeal which it had shown in solving the problems of war.

The immediate consequence was an industrial exploitation such as the world had not before experienced. In 1865 barely one-tenth of the population of the United States lived west of Mississippi River; that region, comprising fully two-thirds of the public domain as the public domain then was, offered easy and profitable access to Americans and Europeans alike; the fertile world beyond the Mississippi was inhabited by wandering Indian tribes that offered slight obstacles to the invasion of civilization. The West was the one portion of the globe into which the youth and young manhood of the civilized races hastened for homes. And the American mind, turning from the absorption of its energies in war, began the solution of the innumerable problems incident to the acquisition and settlement of the West: the problems of transportation; intercommunication; the raising, distribution, and marketing of foods; the improvement of farm implements; the introduction of labor-saving machinery.

These are a few of the problems which were then taken up, but activity characterized every field of human interest. Manufacturing, which under the stimulus of war had been pushed almost to the limit of production, was suddenly compelled to adapt itself to the demands of peace, with the result that manufacturers boldly entered into competition, along every line of production, with the shops and factories of Europe, and succeeded in securing from the national government the protection of legislation. Thus the unlimited

power and energy of the whole nation were placed behind the tremendous activity of the people,—the manufacturer, the farmer, the laborer, the skilled mechanic, participating, each in his degree, in the enormous product and its returns.

This industrial new-birth characterizes the development of the North during the period of which Mr. Rogers writes. So vast is the field of operations; so varied are the industries; so obscure and complicated are the economic and ethical problems involved, that no more than an outline of them is possible in the compass of a single volume.

The industrialism of the last forty years exemplifies the entrance of the American people upon a new phase of their history. Never again can there exist the simplicity of life as it was before the War. Wisely or foolishly, people demand, if not more, at least other things than those which satisfied everyday people forty years ago. As Mr. Rogers narrates in one of his chapters, the now famed expositions which have been held in America since the War have indicated the nature of the continental, the world education which the American people were receiving. And yet none of these expositions could have been possible had not the American people themselves prepared the way.

The New North is as real as the New South, and the now closely associated portions of the country show much the same kind of newness. Transportation, intercommunication, education, invention, manufacturing, improved agriculture and horticulture, distinguish both portions of the United States. The examination of the present volume and of the preceding reveals this. Yet this unparalleled development has not been exempt from perils, difficulties, struggles, and, not infrequently, injustice.

All that the North is to-day is due to labor, and of late years labor has been crying out that it is not receiving its just dues. Strikes, of one kind or another, are recorded throughout human history, but it is within the last forty years that America may be said to have had its first experience with labor troubles. An industrial age presents grave

industrial problems: in America, it must be admitted that "strikes" have been one of the exponents in the as yet unsolved labor problem.

Read in conjunction with the twelfth and thirteenth volumes of the series,—*The Growth of the Nation from 1809 to 1837* and *The Growth of the Nation from 1837 to 1860*,—the present volume rounds out the history of the United States for a century. The period covered by the volume stands forth distinct as the period of vast industrial activity. The nation is seen in economic development, and the process is still going on.

A narrative of the period would be incomplete without due recognition and emphasis of the work of individuals, and the number of eminent individuals is very great. If industry enrolls the larger number, art, science, education, and letters also enroll their share. Yet, so long is the list that the narrative would become a mere catalogue of names were each captain of industry, each great inventor, famed statesman, notable scientist, eminent writer, distinguished artist made the theme even of brief narration. Perhaps no hint of the character of the period gives a surer clue to its significance than a catalogue of its eminent men. It has been a period of triumphing individuals. If, toward the close of the period, it may seem that the individual is becoming submerged in the corporation, the change must be accounted an economic adjustment, perhaps inevitable.

The story of corporations in America begins during the period of which this volume treats. It would seem then that the period itself, like all preceding periods, has been one of transition. Indeed, after reading Mr. Rogers's volume, one puts down the book with the conviction that society in America is in a state of flux. Expectation is in the air; little seems to us marvellous, and the probabilities in industrial conquest seem easily limitless.

It is this very expectancy which characterizes the American mind: it shrinks from no labor, however vast; no toil, however severe; no problem, however intricate. It tunnels

the Rocky Mountains or drains a meadow with equal indifference; it transports men and things at will beneath or above rivers; it makes a bridge of the air and converts almost inaccessible cataracts into common and useful commodities.

In every field of human interest may be seen like daring attempts. Perhaps Washington never imagined a "billion dollar Congress," as certainly he could not foresee the innumerable objects of Congressional legislation. Vast figures, vast undertakings, vast engineering schemes interest but no longer amaze; the human mind is outgrowing the earth to which it is chained.

All this transcendency of spirit, which has determined the character of life in America during the last forty years, makes the period a difficult one to confine within the covers of a book. It is a living, breathing America and defies the restrictions of the printed page.

In attempting to describe this spirit of labor and conquest, this restless, aggressive new America, Mr. Rogers has selected the phases which in his judgment portray the times.

FRANCIS N. THORPE.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

CONTEMPORANEOUS history is, of all, the most difficult to write, for the reason that it is, at the best, a narrative of few events selected from a multitude. The topics chosen are not likely to appeal to all readers as the most important. Forty volumes could not make up the sum of noteworthy deeds as viewed by those most interested. Moreover, there is obviously little chance for historical perspective, for setting events in their right proportion,—since their ultimate value is indeterminate,—while philosophical discussion is most difficult. We can look at the history of a century ago with more complacency and better judgment than at that of the present. The things of minor importance in the past have sunk beneath the horizon, and only those of great pith and moment, such as have been active forces in society, remain to view.

In the following pages it is attempted to give a cursory and succinct view of the Northern section of the United States in the last forty years. No work of this kind could hope to be comprehensive, and in the limits of a single volume it is possible only to set forth the leading events and note the principal forces in many directions which have produced such extraordinary results. All readers of this volume have witnessed some of the events narrated; some have lived through all of them and have been concerned in giving them direction. To some it may seem that undue stress is laid on certain features of national life to the exclusion of others. In any event, this volume has the merit, if such it be, of covering the period for the first time. Some generations hence, the philosophic historian will be able to write with a clearer

view and saner judgment of the things so vital in our own day and may look upon them from a very different standpoint.

The author trusts that he has given a view of the last forty years which is instructive as well as entertaining. Less stress has been laid upon detailed events than upon those forces in all branches of human endeavor which have in a generation made the United States a leading world-power, one that is consulted or considered in every move on the great chessboard of international politics.

The history of the United States is told in the short and simple annals of intelligently directed industry, conjoined with limitless opportunity and liberal institutions. No one will pretend that the record is without stain or that many mistakes have not been made. The people of the United States are quite as human as the rest of the race. But it has so happened that a fortunate combination of favorable circumstances has made the United States the most favored among the nations. In forty years the population has nearly trebled; wealth has increased in much greater ratio, while the natural resources and opportunities for the competent seem to have been only slightly, if at all, diminished. The national growth is in geometrical progression, and no limit can be set upon its future.

It is to a brief review in the following pages of the mighty developments of four decades that the reader's attention is invited, with the full consciousness that history is being made every day and points of view are shifting, so that existing judgments are apt to be challenged. Those who in vexation of spirit wish that they might have lived in some other apparently more glorious age ought to be comforted by the opinions of the greatest living historians and philosophers to the effect that, in mighty deeds accomplished, in noble aspirations achieved, and in the elevation of mind and spirit the world over, the last forty years have not been paralleled in the long history of the human race.

JOSEPH M. ROGERS.

Philadelphia.

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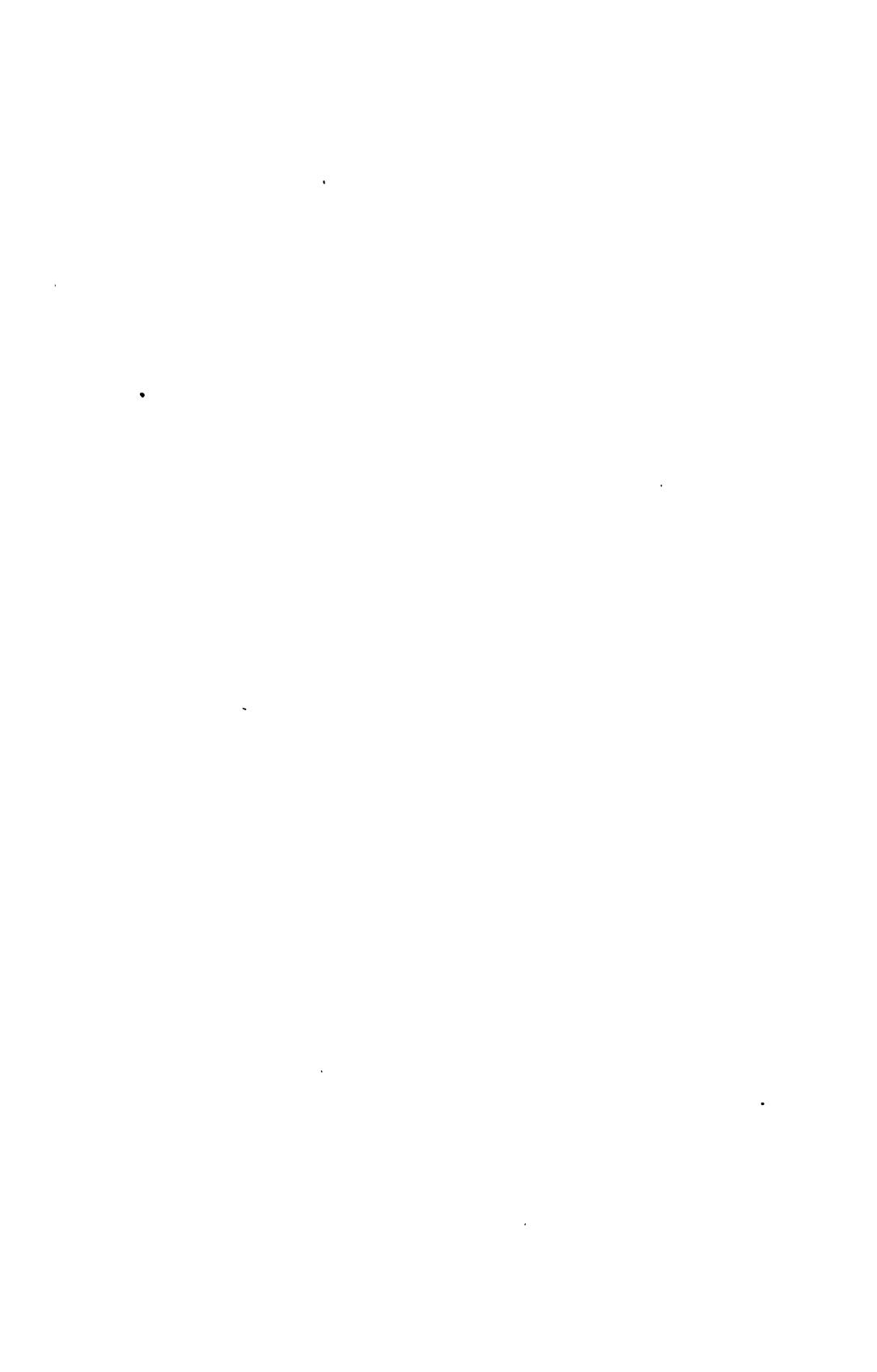
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THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE NORTH
SINCE THE CIVIL WAR

ROGERS

CHAPTER I

AT THE CLOSE OF THE CIVIL WAR

WHILE the loyal people of the North were indulging in manifestations of joy over the surrender of General Lee and the impending collapse of the Confederacy, news of the assassination of President Lincoln came. Rejoicing gave way to mourning and to the gravest fears. It was generally believed that the assassination was part of a widespread plot to deprive the North of the fruits of victory and for a time the wildest fears were excited. Soon it was discovered that John Wilkes Booth had associated with him only a few persons, and none of importance, but in the meantime passions had been aroused and a desire for revenge inspired which was full of evil portent for the South.

It is not possible to say with confidence just what Lincoln's policy toward the South would have been had he survived; but we can be certain that it would have been liberal and that his great influence would have made it possible to avoid much of the bitterness which followed. It is true that Lincoln dead was a different power from Lincoln alive, but that which he embodied had been growing in influence and authority from the very moment he reached Washington. It should not be assumed, however, that he was universally loved or respected even in Washington by men of position and influence. As late as January, 1865, a corps commander whose experience had been almost wholly in the West, where Lincoln was beloved without stint, has left

on record how he was astonished at a dinner table in Washington to hear the president spoken of by members of Congress and others high in official life with contempt and almost contumely. It is well known that through much of his administration Lincoln was at odds not only with some members of his Cabinet, but with the leaders in Congress, and that on some important questions the latter had defeated the will of the president. The situation, however, was improving; and when the news of Lee's surrender came, such was the unspeakable joy, that Lincoln's popularity was almost universal. His tragic death resulted in his apotheosis and brought unnumbered woes upon the defeated States of the late Confederacy. That there would have been suffering in them under any circumstances is inevitable; that more or less proscription of a mild type would have followed is certain. But the desire for revenge would have been tempered by the influence of Lincoln in a way that would have saved the Southern people much pain and humiliation.

The ablest leaders of the Confederacy saw clearly that the rash act of Booth was the greatest injury that could have fallen upon the South. They deplored it almost without exception, not only because they abhorred the deed, but because they foresaw the troubles which were to follow in its train. The position of the Confederates at this time was anything but pleasant. Most of the men who laid down their arms were under parole, but when there was a great outcry in the North from the press and the people that examples be made of the leaders, "that treason be made odious," to use the language of President Johnson, many fled the country and others awaited with fear the decision of the authorities.

The details of the manner in which Reconstruction was accomplished do not come within the scope of this volume, but it is essential that some attention thereto be given in this narrative, particularly to the attitude of the people of the North toward the subject. Forty years have passed away at

this writing and there still survives some of the bitterness of that time. The problem was vast and there were no historic precedents to guide legislators and administrators even had they been seeking solely to settle the problem without prejudice.

The problem centred around the personality of Andrew Johnson so unexpectedly called to the chief magistracy,—a position for which he was by temperament and training unfitted. At this day men once radical Republicans, survivors of that period, have greatly revised their opinions of Johnson. He was a man of many faults, but it is no longer believed that he was moved by improper motives or that his policy was radically wrong. The wisest and best of men would have had a thankless task, and, most unfortunately, Johnson was a man of many failings in spite of his undoubted natural abilities.

He had been chosen by Lincoln as his associate on the ticket solely on the ground of political expediency. It was believed essential to have a war-Democrat on the ticket, and Johnson was selected—after others had refused the proffered honor—because of his radicalism, and the fact that he lived in a State which claimed to have left the Union. There was something of defiance in this, as well as of warning to Europe that Lincoln did not recognize the Confederacy, and so far as his usefulness as a candidate was concerned he was a success. He had ruled Tennessee as military governor with an iron hand and discretion under trying circumstances. But those who knew him best feared that his administration would suffer more through his lack of tact and by his stubbornness than through adherence to false principles. Defectively educated, he had risen to power in Tennessee by persistence and native ability. He had fought his way to success without giving or taking quarter. He absolutely lacked the power to assimilate culture and refinement. He was coarse, often vulgar, but his cardinal defect as a president lay in his colossal egotism conjoined to a stubbornness worthy of a better cause. Most of his

success in politics had come as a leader of the masses in open and avowed conflicts with the interests of wealth and culture. Hundreds of times on the stump had he decried wealth and hurled anathemas at those who had been blessed with fortune. This was not all demagogic, but it was a strong factor in determining many of his acts. His courage was undoubted and his abilities unquestioned, but he lacked qualities essential to the presidency at any time, and it was his fate to serve under the most trying conditions.

His position before the country was the weaker because his nomination had been so unexpected. Most unfortunately, Johnson made a sad exhibition of himself on the day of his inauguration. On that occasion he was intoxicated—a lapse which was never forgotten or forgiven. Even Charles Sumner used his great authority to bring Johnson into discredit. Many demanded his resignation. Still, it can be said that for a time the people of the country hoped for the best and were willing to give Johnson a fair trial. He retained Lincoln's Cabinet, a seeming guarantee that no radical policy would dominate his administration. Congress was not in session when he acceded to office, and the administration had plenty of time to get its house in order before the Houses met in December.

Johnson soon found it necessary to take important action in regard to the political status of the revolted States. In the case of Virginia, the problem was easy, since Francis H. Pierpoint had a claim to the governorship of the State which was shadowy enough and almost ludicrous, but sufficient to be recognized and the Virginians acquiesced. In Tennessee, Louisiana, and Arkansas loyal governments had already been set up and maintained by the military arm. It was President Lincoln's plan that ten per cent of the number of voters of 1860 should be sufficient to establish a government, and he believed that loyal persons could be found in every State to whom the government should be entrusted. It was commonly believed by the statesmen of the North that there was a saving remnant in each of the

eleven revolted States to whom all powers ought of right to be given. It was a fatal mistake of the people of the North to imagine that such a condition existed; the assumption was so contrary to fact, that it darkened counsel, obscured public vision, and made a solution of the political problems of the South all the more difficult.

Nothing is more certain than that at the close of the conflict the people of the so-called Confederacy were practically unanimous in support of its principles. It is true that they were to a very large extent dissatisfied with Jefferson Davis's conduct of the war; that Davis and his advisers were not held in high respect throughout the South; that Georgia had even threatened to secede from the Confederacy. At the beginning probably less than half of the people of the eleven seceding States were anxious for secession. The movement never was on a popular basis. Its well-springs of inspiration were the few leaders of the slaveholding oligarchy, and not the masses. But it were idle to deny that, as the contest went on, the people of the eleven States were well-nigh unanimous in believing and upholding the right of secession. They were bound together by the sufferings they had endured. There were not in 1865 enough men of ability to conduct a government, unless chosen from those who in sincerity had adhered to secession. Nor could any successful government have been carried on by such a saving remnant, had it existed. Such an idea was opposed to all American theories of popular government, and must have depended on the sword for its realization.

The position of President Johnson was very generally misunderstood at that time, and ever since has been more or less misrepresented. His inaugural speech was disappointing in that it made no reference to a determination to carry out the policy of Lincoln, and this omission was only partially remedied later. His remarks about making treason odious were well received by radicals in the North. When, later, he treated with respect and kindness some of the Southern leaders, since his own plan involved their recognition, it was

charged that he had completely changed his position. This would be difficult to prove. Every man must alter his views with changing circumstances, but there is no warrant for the widely believed notion that Johnson started out to punish the South and suddenly became its ardent defender, or that his motive in reversing his conduct was a desire to be on good terms with the so-called aristocracy of the South which he had so long belabored and defied. Johnson has many sins of omission and commission to answer for, but this view of him is erroneous.

Naturally, he issued a proclamation offering large rewards for the arrest of Jefferson Davis and members of his Cabinet. Lincoln had expressed a wish that Davis and his advisers should escape and would have rejoiced to know that they had reached some foreign soil. Johnson had no such desire. He wanted Davis punished, probably expected to see him hanged along with many of his advisers, a conclusion not necessarily inconsistent with his prospective policy of reconstruction. Several officials of the Confederacy were captured with Davis and confined in prison. But for the divisions in party counsels, but for the opposition shown by a majority in Congress to the president, it is possible some of them would have been tried. Eventually the cases were dropped, and no civilian of the Confederacy paid the extreme penalty for treason.

It must be remembered that this was a time when tremendous passions were aroused, North and South. The North was torn by conflicting emotions: joy over victory; sorrow over losses, particularly the death of Lincoln; and a desire for deep revenge. There were no precedents to guide, but it was felt that drastic measures must be followed.

In the South, there was bitter disappointment over a Lost Cause, lost sons, lost slaves, and lost property, which in the aggregate amounted to a revolution in social, industrial, and financial conditions. Fear of retribution added uncertainty to a position already desperate; and if the world had not

clamored for American cotton at a high price, the industrial and political recovery of the South would have been slower and more painful.

On May 29, 1865, the president issued a proclamation of amnesty to all who would take a new oath of allegiance, excepting certain classes, principally those who had previously been in the naval, military, or civil employment of the Federal government and had entered the Confederacy. The exceptions were in the main those made by Lincoln when he had offered amnesty; but naturally some classes were added. There was criticism of one exception which included all whose property was estimated at twenty thousand dollars or over. The president, however, announced that applications for pardon would be received from those in the excepted classes, and such would be decided on their merits. Many persons thought the president too liberal; others thought him too severe; but it soon became manifest that it was impossible to punish everyone, and in the end his policy was generally approved, except when some occasional individual in the excepted classes who was particularly obnoxious to the North applied for and received a pardon. At this day it cannot be held that Johnson was unduly liberal with his pardons, or that he is censurable for trying to restore the Union as soon as possible.

Detractors of Johnson in his own day failed to consider his position calmly. They indulged indiscriminately in abuse of the man and his policy, without undertaking to discover consistency in his acts. Johnson was a Democrat, nominated not in spite of that fact, but because of it. He had often proclaimed as his opinion that secession was illegal, impossible, and must not be considered for a moment. He represented Tennessee in the United States Senate when it was claimed by the Confederacy. Later he was its military governor. He could not have adhered to his theory of secession except under the profoundest conviction of its justice. When he was inaugurated vice-president, the Confederacy and its adherents claimed that his State was outside

the Union, which Johnson insisted was not the fact and never could be. In his opinion, Tennessee had been in the Union constantly, and he ever acted on that assumption.

The issue was precipitated when, on the same day that the Amnesty Proclamation was promulgated, Johnson appointed William W. Holden provisional governor of North Carolina, and ordered the election of a State convention to restore relations with the Union, those only being permitted to stand as candidates, and to vote for delegates, who had been pardoned by the president and had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States.

Against this action there was an immediate protest on the part of many leading Republicans, and that the situation did not become intense at once is shown by the fact that during that year the Republican conventions generally endorsed Johnson's administration. It was not known exactly what Johnson would do in the premises after the States had passed upon reconstruction measures. In a brief time all the late Confederate States were treated the same as North Carolina with the exception of the "ten per cent governments" of Lincoln already recognized in Virginia, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Arkansas.

As the time for the meeting of Congress approached, opposition to Johnson's plan became very active. The States lately in revolt had held conventions and in a rather formal way renewed allegiance to the Union and some had gone so far as to elect senators and members of the House of Representatives. Opposition to the president drew its strength from hostility to the idea that men lately in arms against the government, later some of the most prominent in military and civil life of the Confederacy, appeared at Washington and asked admission to Congress, as if nothing had happened. That such action should be taken can now be seen to have been unwise, but it was not wholly illogical. The eleven States, or to be more specific, the seven in which there had been not the slightest effort at reconstruction before the surrender of Lee and Johnston, found themselves

in a peculiar position. They had claimed the right of secession, had fought four years to maintain it, had been beaten thoroughly in the contest and had been invited by the president to resume relations. They did so with better faith than was generally attributed to them. It is absurd to suppose that they were repentant in the sense that they were sorry for what they had done. Such an assumption is against human nature. The people of the South had fought with bravery, devotion, and ability. They had suffered, but it was not in human probability that they should come to the capitol penitent, humiliated, and self-debased. They simply accepted the situation in the hope of making the best of it. When they accepted the political solution that had been offered them, these men, who had braved a thousand bullets, may have assumed a manner that was unbearable to the conquerors. But what could be expected of men who had risked and suffered all? Humiliation was theirs already, but they could not be expected to cringe.

Nor must it be forgotten that when Congress met in December, 1865, all that Johnson had done had been done with the advice and, to a large extent, with the consent of his Cabinet. Perhaps all were not agreed on the actual details or principles. Indeed, the great trouble was that no general plan as voiced through the administration, the press, the pulpit, or other modes of public opinion, had crystallized into what may be called a truly national policy. Johnson claimed that he followed exactly the plan of Lincoln, as he understood it, and, considering his personal limitations and prejudices, this may be true. Secretary Seward was for a time looked upon as a bulwark of Republicanism, and he seemed to agree with the president in most of his acts. He wrote Johnson's state papers, and, while it is well known that he did not at all times agree with the president, he was his guide and thought it much better to remain at the helm than to leave the post which might then be filled by a man without the confidence of any considerable portion of the dominant political party.

In general the plan of Johnson to restore the South to the Union was that of Lincoln, based on the "ten per cent" principle as changed by new conditions. Its fault was this—that Johnson knew well that Lincoln's plan had been opposed by Congress, that Lincoln had refused to sign a radical reconstruction bill and that the whole subject was in a state of uncertainty.

It is true that Lincoln had expressed his satisfaction that Congress was not to meet until fall, but Johnson's position was as far removed from Lincoln's as possible, though Johnson could scarcely be expected to appreciate it. Lincoln's authority had been growing, and there is every reason to believe that he could have accomplished more than any other man. His wisdom and tact would have almost silenced opposition in Congress.

Johnson was entirely out of sympathy with the leaders of the Republican party. An enlarged and wise intelligence should have led him to see that he could not hope to rule under such conditions without the coöperation of the legislative branch of the government. Unfortunately he was not given to introspection. He was a man of moods, of tremendous passions, and unhappily anchored in an obstinacy which was at once his chief asset and greatest fault. He had no glint of the tact of his predecessor and, what is worse, none of that intense love of humanity at large which dominated Lincoln's conduct at all times. He took at random the advice of Seward, whose intelligence was remarkable; of Stanton, who had much of the temperament of the president, though cast in another mould; of Speed, the bosom friend of Lincoln; and of others. That he desired in his inmost heart to be true to the republic and a friend to the whole country cannot be denied. That he lacked the essential qualities for carrying out any such plan is admitted.

Nevertheless, after admitting all that can be justly said in derogation of Johnson and his policy, it is very difficult to see what other he could have adopted. We can readily

see that he might have done what he did in a different manner, that he might, with another personality, have called in counsel the ruling men of the country and have secured the adoption of much of his own policy without great difficulty. But this argues a Johnson that never lived. It also argues a condition of public sentiment in a time of profound peace instead of immediately after the greatest civil war of history. The people were in an angry mood, which we must remember in passing judgment on many of the things of that period.

Johnson did as he supposed Lincoln would have done. One of the most eminent Federal corps commanders, who rose later to high political eminence, has said that it was strongly in the mind of Lincoln to call a convention of all the general officers of the two armies above the rank of brigadier-general who had served with distinction and invite them to deliberate upon some plan of action which would ameliorate the conditions certain to arise. The same authority states that Johnson refused to entertain the idea of such a convention on the ground that it would lead to misconceptions and, by reason of Lincoln's murder, would only promote and emphasize sectional differences.

One of the surprises of the period was the speedy retirement of Seward from his high place in the counsels of his party. He had been the leading choice of the Eastern Republicans for the presidency in 1860; he had been at Lincoln's right hand all through his administration, and, in spite of his shortcomings and mistakes, had been a tower of strength. That he had great influence with Johnson is undeniable; that he was trying to follow out Lincoln's plan of reconstruction so far as circumstances allowed seems certain. It appears that he was almost as much surprised as Johnson when the storm of congressional opposition fell upon both.

Congress had shown opposition to Lincoln at times, but its treatment of the Johnson administration in the winter of 1865 was despicable. This statement is made on the

authority of the leading men in both houses who survived the animosities and prejudices of the time and finally regretted their attitude toward Johnson. They were maddened, in 1865, by the desire for revenge, and were for the most part uncertain as to what course should be pursued. It was this state of uncertainty which made the position of Thaddeus Stevens in the House and of Charles Sumner in the Senate more dictatorial, if such a thing were possible, than during the War. These two men for a few years seemed to hold the destiny of the country in their hands. Both were men of transcendent abilities, of sincerity of purpose, and of undoubted courage, both were fanatical in their position in regard to the negro; and both demanded severe punishment of the men lately engaged in rebellion. Both were cynics. Both had been in a sense martyrs for politics' sake. Neither had that broad humanity which characterized Lincoln, although both were devoted to the interests of the downtrodden slave. It is doubtful if the Republican party contained two other men equal to them in intellectual powers, or two more unfortunately constituted for the great work of healing the wounds caused by the Civil War. Each believed in himself absolutely and brooked no opposition. Stevens was a great commoner, but he was a tyrant in the use of his power. He drove men before him as with whips and scorpions, and the fire of his eye, the lash of his tongue, were feared by all. Sumner was academic and had achieved his political position with the aid of circumstances the exact opposite of those which had advanced Stevens, and his authority at this time in the Senate was almost as unquestioned as that of Stevens in the House. His colleague Wilson deferred to him or agreed with him almost entirely, while Wade, of Ohio, who was the dominant factor among Western senators, conferred with him and was in all essentials in accord with him. The triumvirate of Sumner, Wade, and Stevens was more powerful than that of Clay, Calhoun, and Webster had been thirty years before.

The utter contempt which Thaddeus Stevens exhibited toward the President is unique in our annals. He took possession of the House of Representatives in a manner which at once indicated that he looked neither for advice nor counsel from the White House. Colonel Alexander K. McClure, one of the leading Republicans of the time and a confidential adviser of Lincoln, who still survives (1905), has given some interesting reminiscences of the Thirty-eighth Congress. While sitting in the House, beside his old friend and neighbor, Stevens, the latter was approached by a distinguished member, a man of wealth, ability, and position, who made a mild suggestion as to a change in some bill affecting the colored race. With scorn and absolute authority, the member was ordered to his seat and to vote as before commanded, in a manner which even a slave would have resented from a master. Not that Stevens had the slightest intention to work injustice to anyone, or that ulterior motives guided him, or that he felt himself in the slightest degree less than patriotic. He felt that he had led the forces for freedom, and that it was his heaven-born duty to punish the South for her crimes against humanity in the form of slavery, and against the Union in secession. It is as absurd to accuse Stevens or Sumner of petty motives at this time as it is to call Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens arrant rebels without a claim to vindication.

The situation in December, 1865, was this: Johnson had appointed provisional governors in the seven States where there were no "ten per cent governors," and they had in crude fashion accomplished a sort of civil organization. It was necessarily crude, because of the brief time intervening since the cessation of hostilities, the restriction of the electorate, the uncertainty as to what could or ought to be done, and a lack of precedents to guide. And nothing is more characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race than the manner in which at this time musty tomes were pored over and every possible hair-splitting expedient resorted to in order to sustain one position or another. Eventually it

proved that this was all in vain, but the love of law and order was exemplified in the desire to act in accordance with established principles.

On December 18th, Stevens arose and made one of the most remarkable speeches of his life. It was well known that whatever he would say would have the effect of law so soon as he wished it thus crystallized. He dominated events in a way that Henry Clay never dreamed of. Stevens's speech, read at this day, sounds not unlike one of those made by a partisan of Octavius after the murder of Cæsar. In its essence it has much of the grim vigor of a tragedy by Æschylus. The South had sinned. The South had made war. The South must be considered as a conquered province in which life and property were forfeit. In the nature of things some respite must be granted, but this was in every case a matter of grace. He sounded a deathknell to every desire for restoration of the South to the Union in a civilized manner, such as Lincoln might have planned, and, what was of immediate consequence, put an absolute veto upon the plans and accomplishments of Johnson, Seward, and those who agreed with them. It is not possible now, forty years after the event, fully to comprehend the effect of this speech. A perusal of the newspapers of the period shows that it came as a surprise to many, that in the West it was received with misgivings, though the masses everywhere seemed to think that Congress was more to be depended upon than Johnson.

It is very easy to see at this distance of time that most of the men then in control of national affairs lacked prudence. We can imagine that Johnson and Seward might have called in council the leading men in public life and an agreement might have been reached. It is certain that the duty of reconstruction in its early stages rested upon the executive and that in differing very widely from the plan of Congress, which more than a year before Lincoln had killed by a pocket veto, the administration took perilous chances. Still, it can be seen now that the administration was more

nearly right ethically and politically than was Stevens, though this should be interpreted in connection with the passions and the extraordinary animosities of the time. War is organized rage. It is hell. But history has shown that warriors are always more chivalric than civilians to opponents, and those who imposed the terms of peace were not the men who had been at arms.

The unfortunate part of Stevens's speech, as shown by events, lay in the fact that it was completely destructive, not constructive. He demanded the last pound of flesh in punishment of traitors, but he left no future for the late Confederate States, saving as unorganized territory to be despoiled, while individual citizens were put in the list of convicts. Stevens believed that the North was absolute in the power it had achieved through victory on the field and that there was absolutely no right which a Confederate once possessed that the North was bound to respect.

The speech was Draconian and it fell upon the South like a sentence of death. The authority of him who spoke was well recognized, and no man can read the history of Reconstruction aright unless he interprets the effect this speech made upon the South. Up to that time there had been hope. After this, there was nothing left but a struggle for existence. Those who think that to be conquered means mental and moral submission are ill acquainted with the world.

Bitter was the feeling of the people of the South. It is true that their hopes had been unduly raised by the pacific advances of President Johnson, but they were unprepared for the outburst of bitterness that lay in store for them, and if thereafter their fight for self-preservation had in it an element of justification on the ground of executive action, it is not to be wondered at. Such hopes were destined to be utterly disappointed.

For the present it need only be said that Congress merely opposed the president, and that two years were to pass before it was to have a direct policy of its own. In the

meantime, many direful events were to take place, and much time was lost never to be regained. At the end of the last year of the war and at the beginning of the succeeding, the people of the North were torn by conflicting emotions in politics, but generally they sided with the radical view as expressed by Stevens, while the conservative policy of Johnson lost ground continually. It was a time when wounds were still bleeding, when a sense of wrong on both sides was still poignant, and when it could not reasonably have been expected that either at the South or the North there should be a dispassionate consideration of questions which had stirred the nation to its depths, the ultimate decision of which had so long hung in the balance and which had been decided forever, let us hope, but not without a feeling on the part of the losers, that they had ably maintained their position.

CHAPTER II

JOHNSON QUARRELS WITH CONGRESS

THAT the president should be enraged at the action of Stevens and at Congressional opposition to his policy was only natural, but if Johnson had possessed tact he might have gotten out of the situation with credit. Both branches of Congress refused to accept the newly chosen members from the "Johnsonized States." And indeed this was fitting, since, whether the States lately in revolt had ever been out of the Union or not, their status was at least different from that of the loyal States, and complete restoration was a matter requiring time and careful consideration. Johnson took great umbrage at Congress, for which there was little reason, since the Constitution clearly gives each House the right to decide on the qualifications of its own members.

That which had angered the Northern people more than anything else was the passage by new legislatures in the Southern States of laws intended to prevent vagabondage, but which really seemed designed to reduce the freedman to a state of peonage, in many respects worse than his former state of slavery. The laws were exceedingly rigorous, and provided heavy punishment for vagabondage or for failure to work when work was offered, and the like. It is true that some legislation of an industrial character was needed, and that it was copied from ancient New England statutes directed principally against recalcitrant apprentices at a time

when that system was in vogue—a code that had practically gone out of existence. But the Southern States would have acted wisely if they had used more care in framing or executing such statutes.

The position of the negroes was pitiable in the extreme. Most of them had become intoxicated with freedom, believed that the government was going to give each freedman "forty acres and a mule," and meanwhile a great proportion of them refused to work. Many looked upon the property of their late masters as legitimately their own, and it was almost impossible to get a sufficient number of them to work in the fields to make the crops. Large numbers had left their old homes never to return. Many crowded into the cities, while few could see that it was necessary for them to go vigorously to work. Even those who made some attempt at independent industrial effort were not entirely successful, since they had never known how to plan and too often resented the slightest suggestion or interference. In every county there were many shiftless freedmen who preyed on the community, and it was supposedly against these that the legislation was directed which caused such a stir in Washington and generally at the North. The sale of the services of convicts or vagabonds was nothing new in the South, but Northern people looked upon the practice as a return to slavery. It was a time when there were mistakes made by both North and South, when each section was suspicious of the other, and when each was accusing the other of bad faith.

Stevens put aside Reconstruction until certain laws could be passed for the benefit of the freedmen. Although in his programme he often showed venom toward the South, he showed no new state of mind toward the negro. For many years he had fought in vain in favor of equal rights of the negro in the Northern States, and as a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1837, in Pennsylvania, had refused to sign the report submitting the new constitution to the voters because it restricted political rights to the whites. All his life he had been a friend to the negro, and he now

undertook to secure for the former slaves some compensation for the ages of their unrequited toil.

The Freedmen's Bureau Bill, as it first passed Congress, was a drastic measure to replace one already in force which included confiscation of some property in the South for the benefit of the freedmen. It passed on February 6, 1866, was vetoed by Johnson, and in the Senate failed of passage over the veto. There was still a conservative element in the Republican party which did not wish to press the president too far, but he lost the support of many of these when, a few days later, in a public speech he denounced Congress as an irresponsible body, as illegal because it had not admitted the Southern members, and finally denounced the Republican leaders by name. This was a most extraordinary proceeding and swept away much of the lingering Republican support which had remained by him.

Another Freedmen's Bureau Bill, less drastic than the first, was vetoed by Johnson, but promptly passed over his veto. This veto message, as well as later ones, was prepared largely by Seward, and is much more convincing to-day than when read in the impassioned time of its promulgation. It should be said for Johnson that in this, as in all other cases, he faithfully executed, so far as he was able, the laws passed over his veto. It was not very long before the scandals of the Freedmen's Bureau became so nauseous that many of Johnson's predictions regarding it were justified.

The first veto overridden, however, was that of the Civil Rights Bill, which conferred upon the negro all the legal rights of the white man. The bill was loosely drawn and by many of the best authorities was considered unconstitutional. It attempted to enforce by Federal law what was to a large extent a matter reserved to the States. Its chief defect was that it attempted the impossible by statute. As was said at the time by one of the leading men of the country: "You cannot legislate people into the Kingdom of Heaven." It was vetoed in a strong state paper, but was immediately

repassed and became a law. Almost ten years later a new law on the subject was passed, but it afterward was declared unconstitutional.

The Thirteenth Amendment, prohibiting slavery, had been adopted by a sufficient number of States in 1865. Early in 1866 the Fourteenth Amendment was passed, which defined citizenship and provided penalties in the shape of loss of representation in Congress for any State which should disfranchise any of its people on account of color. The president expressed his disapproval of the amendment, but it was sent to the States and in time was ratified.

The break between the President and Congress was now complete, but it might have been mended had not the president continued his opposition by unwise and unjust speeches against Congress. He went on a tour during the summer of 1866, "swinging 'round the circle," as it was called, in which he made yet more radical speeches, declaring that Congress was no Congress at all, and referring to "my policy" in a way that offended even the conservative element at the North. Seward, Grant, and Farragut went with him and did their best to restrain him, but with little effect.

The fall elections were eagerly awaited to see what would be the verdict of the people. The administration had the support of the *New York Times*, edited by Henry J. Raymond, but of no other important Republican newspaper. The elections were overwhelmingly in favor of the radical section of the party, and from this time Johnson was politically marooned except that Democrats generally sided with him in matters affecting Reconstruction. They, however, were too small a faction to be of any considerable assistance to him.

In this year, 1866, an incident occurred in Congress that was destined to have far-reaching effects on American politics. Congress was busy restoring the country to civil order by repealing as much war legislation as possible. Taxation

was decreased. The army was reduced to a peace footing of about fifty thousand men. Pension laws were made more generous, and liberal homestead acts passed. In the course of this legislation, it was proposed to dispense with the now useless office of provost-marshall-general, which had been so important in the war. It was during the debate on this measure that the hostility between Blaine and Conkling broke out which was destined to have a disastrous effect on the fortunes of both.

It was manifestly impossible that men of such signal abilities, such tremendous ambitions, and such diverse temperaments as Blaine and Conkling should act in political harmony. There were few points of sympathy between them, while their ambitions clashed at every turn. Both were young men, and each aspired to political leadership on the retirement of Stevens, an event which the condition of his health seemed to fix at no distant date.

It was the impetuosity and loyal friendship of Blaine which provoked the trouble. In April, 1866, while the army appropriation bill was under consideration, Conkling moved to strike out the appropriation for the provost-marshall-generalship, on the ground that it was unnecessary and that it was desirable to get rid of "an undeserving public servant," the incumbent, General James B. Fry. A few days later, Blaine caused to be read in the House a letter from General Fry, in which it was charged that the opposition of Conkling was due to base motives, that Conkling, while acting as attorney for the government, had not properly fulfilled his duties, and had secured the position as government counsel on his own initiative under improper circumstances. In effect, no severer charge could be brought against a public man; Blaine endorsed the letter from General Fry, and, with scathing denunciation, referred to Conkling as a "turkey-cock."

Conkling demanded an investigation, and was completely exonerated. From that moment the men were at daggers drawn. Many efforts were made by mutual friends to bring

about an accommodation, but it was impossible. Conkling never forgave Blaine, and never would have resumed relations with him under conditions that Blaine would accept. Both were men of commanding abilities, and the quarrel was most unfortunate. Blaine was habitually as generous as he was impulsive, and ready to admit a fault. In this case, although shown to be in the wrong, he never made the reparation expected, and it cost him the presidency. At the same time, it must be said that Conkling had treated Blaine with contempt, and the latter looked upon the incident as one of minor importance in the rough and tumble of debate. From that moment members of Congress and politicians the country over began to range themselves as Blaine men or Conkling men, and the position of mutual friend was most difficult to maintain. Blaine was ready for an accommodation, but none of his enemies, much less his friends, dared mention the terms demanded by Conkling.

When Congress reassembled in December, Johnson was embittered over the result of the elections and seems to have had some notion of assuming a dictatorship; at least, such accusation against him was made. It has never been made exactly clear what were his purposes, but it soon became apparent that he desired complete control of the army. Grant, who had been made general, the rank having been established in the history of the United States for the first time, was in command of the army, and was distrustful of Johnson. When the president proposed that he go on a mission to Mexico, Grant was at first evasive. On Johnson's renewing the subject, Grant flatly refused, on the ground that he was not subject to civilian duty. Johnson got into a rage, and declared that he was the constitutional head of the army and could do as he pleased. The situation soon became known to the political leaders, and legislation was passed which took much of the administrative power over the army from the president. It was ordered that the general-in-chief should reside at Washington and that all

general orders to the army should pass through his hands. Johnson had already issued orders without the knowledge of either General Grant or Secretary of War Stanton, and this confirmed the suspicions of many that he was meditating some revolutionary act.

Many other restrictive measures were passed, all in an appropriation bill, which the president was forced to sign or to leave the army without supplies. If Johnson indeed did meditate using the army to overthrow Congress, he was balked not only by this legislation but by the fact that the army would not have obeyed him but would unhesitatingly have followed General Grant. When Johnson discovered this he apparently dropped all thoughts of forcible resistance to Congress.

Congress also passed over a veto a Tenure of Office act which was aimed directly at Johnson, to prevent him from removing officials and replacing them with favorites of his own, as was feared. The crisis came when he endeavored to remove Secretary Stanton from office and to appoint an incumbent more in sympathy with his policy. Finally, March 2, 1867, Stevens offered his Reconstruction measures, which were passed over the veto, and the South was divided into five military districts ruled by army officers. With the passage of these measures, the late Confederate States entered upon the heaviest stage of their troubles.

On February 24, 1868, President Johnson was impeached, the principal charge being violation of the Tenure of Office Act. The trial began March 5th. A test vote on May 16th failed to convict, the number being thirty-five to nineteen, the dissentients including five Republican senators.

No matter whether the Reconstruction legislation was or was not conceived in a proper spirit, or whether or not it was executed properly, it is apparent even from the standpoint of the radical Republicans who passed it that Reconstruction was largely a failure; for it did not secure the universal and continuous enfranchisement of the negro in the manner expected, and it alienated from the party in

power many whites in the South who would have adhered to the new order except for the negro question.

The Fifteenth Amendment was proposed in 1869, and eventually adopted, though only by the vote of States which were in process of Reconstruction and were practically compelled by Congress to ratify it. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments are to a great extent inoperative at the present time, so far as their original purpose was concerned. The decisions of the Supreme Court have generally been against a radical interpretation of them, and it is still a mooted question whether the Fifteenth did not practically repeal the Fourteenth. If it was the intention of the Republican party to extend the franchise to the negroes in the hope that they would control the Southern States for that party, the hope has proved vain. The suffrage was professedly given them that they might protect themselves. The result has not realized the expectations of radical Republicans.

It were idle to say that all Reconstruction legislation was malicious or unjust. The temper of the times was such that men could not be expected to act with calmness or justice. The Reconstruction legislation served to keep alive the evil passions of the times.

The question of the status of the leaders of the Confederacy is one that has not been judicially settled. Davis and some others remained in jail for a long time, and Johnson was at first insistent that they be tried for treason. To this it was objected that Davis had been the head of a government whose belligerency had been recognized by the principal powers of the world, and that it was doubtful if the charge of treason could be sustained. It was also proposed to try him by a court martial composed of leading Federal generals, but this was abandoned. Finally, application on behalf of Davis was made for bail and he was released on a bond signed by William H. Vanderbilt, Gerritt Smith, and Horace Greeley. When on Christmas Day, 1868, President Johnson issued his proclamation of general

amnesty, the subject was dropped. The only man condemned to death was Captain Wirz, and that was for inhuman treatment of Andersonville prisoners. In nearly every instance political liberties were restored to those who had served in the Confederacy, sometimes by executive clemency and sometimes by act of Congress.

Soon after the War a number of persons accused of complicity in the murder of Lincoln were arrested and tried by court martial. Mrs. Mary E. Surratt, Lewis Powell, *alias* Payne, David E. Herold, and George Atzerodt, convicted of direct complicity, were hanged. Dr. Mudd, who cared for Booth while the latter was trying to escape, and some others were sentenced to life imprisonment in the Tortugas, but were later pardoned. Many years after the assassination, those who survived gave circumstantial accounts of the conspiracy, from which it would appear that most of the party expected that kidnapping only was intended; and indeed it was once attempted. One of the conspirators, John H. Surratt, who escaped to Europe, was brought home some years later, but was not convicted. The exact extent of the conspiracy will probably never be known, but it apparently included few more than those whose names are connected with it. An effort to save Mrs. Surratt from the extreme penalty failed.

From the moment of Johnson's accession to the presidency the question of the regular succession was warmly discussed. There never was a time when he was considered by the Republican party as his own successor, for he was avowedly a Democrat, and any ambition which he might have for the nomination must rest for fulfilment with that party.

An inevitable result of the War was the elevation of its chief soldier to the presidency. It was soon seen that Grant was not only the logical, but the necessary candidate, and for a time there was strife between the two parties for the honor of naming him. Grant had been a Democrat, and, though he had voted for one president, had taken little interest in politics. When his elevation to the presidency

was first suggested, he was averse to it. He was general of the army, a life position of honor for which he was well fitted and which seemed likely to prove almost a sinecure. For a time it looked as if he were to establish the precedent of absolutely refusing the highest gift of the nation. He was human, however; and when he discovered that to accept the nomination was a practical assurance of election, he very sensibly agreed to it.

Grant's most intimate friends assert that probably he would have accepted a Democratic nomination if events after the war had been different. When, however, he came into open opposition to Johnson, whose sole political support was at last from the Democratic party, Grant was thrown more and more with the Republican leaders, and finally cast his fortunes with them. His nomination in 1868 at Chicago was unanimous and enthusiastic, but the convention failed to name as his associate Senator Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, then the presiding officer of the Senate. Wade's defeat was due to the failure of the Senate to convict Johnson upon the impeachment charges. Wade had been for three terms a senator from Ohio, and, though without culture, was a man of great intellectual force. In the event of the conviction of Johnson, he would, under the existing law, have become president and would have served some eight months. He was a political strategist, and used the expectation of his receiving the nomination to secure many delegates who were not drawn to him personally. It was evident that with eight months in the White House he would be in a position to dispense favors of value, and, up to a few days before the convention met, it seemed certain that he would be nominated for the vice-presidency.

While the delegates were assembling at Chicago, the news arrived of the failure by a single vote to convict Johnson; this ended Wade's chances, since it released many delegates who were supporting him simply in the hope of benefits to come. The failure to convict Johnson was a keen disappointment to a great majority of the Republicans, but it is

now generally believed that such an event would have been a dire calamity. Seven Republican senators went bravely to ignominy and political death rather than violate their consciences; and though they were then execrated and maligned in a manner shocking to relate, history has justified their course, and some of those in the Senate who voted for conviction afterward admitted that they were mistaken.

The Chicago convention nominated for vice-president Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, at the time Speaker of the House of Representatives, and a man of wide popularity. The platform endorsed the radical views of the party.

The Democrats were in great straits for a candidate who might seem to promise success. Upon them was heaped obloquy for such opposition as they had shown during the War, and they were in a sense held the sponsors of Johnson, who by this time was in reality a political orphan. George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, associate on the ticket with McClellan in 1864, aspired to the nomination, and it seemed at one time as if he might succeed. He represented actively the greenback issue as it was then before the country. Practically, he stood for the repudiation of the specie obligations of the government and for an enlarged issue of greenbacks. These had been slowly retired for some years by refunding into interest-bearing bonds. The greenback issue was popular in many sections of the country because of the continued premium of gold, the consequent high prices for the necessaries of life, and the feeling that depreciated money was shoved upon the poor, but that the rich had all the gold and received high rates of interest. It was a common saying that the War had been fought on depreciated currency paid to the soldiers, while the bankers who stayed at home and got rich had the gold.

Pendleton's failure to capture the nomination was largely due to the aggressive manner in which he and his partisans worked for success. The convention was held in New York, and the conservative interests, led by Samuel J. Tilden, determined to prevent the greenback issue being

forced on the party. Accordingly, by a clever and unexpected ruse the nomination was thrust upon Horatio Seymour, chairman of the convention, who, though he declined positively to accept, was finally impelled to do so. General Frank P. Blair, of Missouri, who had been one of the earliest and most ardent of Republicans was named for vice-president.

The result of the election was never for a moment in doubt. Grant swept the country with a popular majority of over three hundred thousand, and received an electoral vote of two hundred and fourteen as against eighty cast for Seymour. Some of the unreconstructed Southern States did not participate in the counting of the electoral vote. The elections for Congress were equally overwhelming in favor of the Republicans, so that Grant began his administration with heavy majorities in both houses.

After the failure to convict Johnson there was comparative peace in Congress for the rest of his term. He behaved with a dignity that would have better become his earlier years in the presidency. He made numerous changes in his Cabinet but the political storm was permitted to quiet down. The ex-president went home to Tennessee and was not long afterward elected to the Senate but he died almost immediately afterward. The cooling of passions in later years has operated to the benefit of Johnson's reputation. It is no longer believed that he was corrupt or unpatriotic at heart. He was a misguided man and a misfit as president. He was a war-time experiment and a costly one, but the chief sufferers, during his administration, were the Southern States which endeavored to support him.

CHAPTER III

RETURN OF THE TROOPS TO CIVIL LIFE

By January 1, 1865, the Federal authorities were well convinced that the fall of the Confederacy was a certain event of the early spring. Hood's army had been practically annihilated. Sherman's march to the sea had shown that there was little offensive power left in the Carolinas, while Grant held Lee's forces as in a vise. The national authorities, convinced as they were that the collapse of armed resistance must soon follow, were greatly troubled over the problem of returning to civil life over one million soldiers, many of whom had been in the service for three years, most of whom were young, and a large number of whom might be reasonably expected to chafe under the normal restrictions of private life.

It had been the usual experience of Europe that after a war of three years or more a very large proportion of the volunteers become professional soldiers to the extent that they could not return to ordinary occupations. In very many instances there had been organized bands of freebooters who had lived on the country in high-handed fashion. Sometimes these had become such a menace that it was a work of months to suppress them. Would any such condition exist after the Federal armies had been disbanded? It was reasonable to expect some trouble, especially as the army contained a large number of foreigners who had enlisted almost immediately on arrival in this country and who

could not be expected to have any patriotic zeal for returning to private life.

Preparations had been quietly made in advance by the government to expedite disbandment whenever it should become necessary, and it can be said that probably nothing connected with the whole conduct of the War so much excited the admiration and surprise of foreigners as the manner in which this was accomplished, without friction, in brief time and almost without any shock to normal conditions. The work began immediately after the surrender of Lee and Johnston. As a rule the regiments were sent back to the States in which they had been recruited. The men were paid off, were allowed to keep their rifles or muskets at a valuation, and in an incredibly brief time almost one million soldiers were absorbed in a population of about twenty-five millions living in the States which had not revolted. The average age of the returning soldiers was about twenty-four years, and for the most part they were unmarried and many of them without immediate opportunity for gaining a livelihood.

The situation was the more difficult because of the shock to the industries of the country caused by the sudden cessation of the War. Although large quantities of war material had been imported, an enormous capital had been invested in manufacturing establishments at home which were solely concerned with supplying the armies in the field. The cessation of war threw out of employment many thousands of men at the very time a million others were returning home anxious to get some sort of employment. It can be seen that in a country where native resources were well developed such a situation would have been fraught with great danger. It was fortunate for America that it then contained vast areas of unoccupied land, and that Europe was making increased demand for American products. This gave an outlet that was accepted with unexpected alacrity, and went far to save the situation.

The government had begun its liberal land policy before the opening of the War, and during the conflict had stimulated

the enlistment of volunteers by liberal promises of land to the soldiers or to the heirs of those who fell. To every soldier, or his family, there was, in fact, the gift of a farm of one hundred and sixty acres, to which complete title could be secured by a brief residence. The War was scarcely over before the rush began to the rich lands of Kansas, Nebraska, and Minnesota, while there was yet time to make a crop. Wisconsin and Michigan also received a large number of settlers who preferred the wooded lands to the prairies. That so many thousands of young men should willingly lay down the sword for the plow had been unexpected, and the result was most gratifying. In the two prairie States mentioned, the gain in population during the decade ending in 1870 was over six hundred thousand, of whom old soldiers formed a large part, as is shown by the later pension statistics. The gain in all the Western States was large, though this was due in part to foreign immigration.

The greatest difficulty was found in the cities, whither so many soldiers returned, eager for work, yet largely without any industrial prospects. The people of the North showed their patriotic zeal by doing as much as possible for the returned soldier, often at the expense of those who had remained at home. In many instances soldiers were given positions they had left when they went to war. In every possible way efforts were put forth to find employment for all, but, under conditions already noted, this was not always possible, and much suffering resulted. As most of the veterans were young men, still adaptable, it was not long before most of them found employment.

The hardest problem was that of the officers. Those of superior rank generally found positions in political or commercial life, for which their abilities fitted them. Many new enterprises were undertaken, especially in the West, where railway construction rapidly increased, and here the good officer was generally found to be the good manager of men in civil life. With the officers of inferior rank the difficulty was

not so easily solved. There were many men who had risen to the command of a regiment, either through casualties or by reason of innate abilities which fitted them for the soldier's profession, but who were utterly incapable of doing large things in civil life. It was difficult for a man who had been distinguished as a colonel or a brigadier to come down to an inferior position in the humdrum of life, and many, refusing to do so, became derelicts. But most of them took the situation philosophically, and it was no uncommon sight, three years after the War, to see ex-officers employed by one who had previously been a private in the same regiment. There were, indeed, many who never became industrially productive citizens; but the fear of armed bands of marauders preying on the country proved happily unfounded. Fortunately, the industrial situation shifted from a war to a peace footing with less friction than was expected. In spite of the War, which had withdrawn so many young men from productive occupations, those who remained at home had been generally employed.

The War had resulted in an enormous increase in the amount of currency in circulation; and though specie payments had been suspended throughout the conflict, peace brought the greenbacks and national banknotes closer to par, and speculation was rife over all the country. Enormous amounts of European money had been invested in United States bonds, and no sooner was peace declared than other sums were offered for investment in commercial enterprises, principally railways. One year after the War, matters had been so well adjusted that foreign visitors were amazed to note so few evidences of the late conflict.

The prosperity of the country was well exemplified by the rapid increase of the public revenues. The work of consolidating the public debt began almost immediately, and in a few years most of it was refunded at a lower rate of interest, thanks to the foresight of the men responsible for floating the bonds during the War. The foreign demand for grain at high prices stimulated the increase of farms,

and this aided manufacturers, and the general buoyant spirit of the people helped over all difficulties. There were tears for the dead, and anxieties for the political future of the States lately in revolt, but the people as a whole were exuberant over peace and eager to take every possible advantage of opportunities. And these were many.

The public debt at the close of the War was nearly three thousand million dollars, which slightly increased during the following year, but payment of the principal became possible through the enormous increase of internal revenue taxation. There was a revenue from customs, but this was long much smaller than internal receipts. When the census returns of 1870 were examined, it was found that in spite of the terrible losses due to the War, in spite of the fact that in most of the Southern States there had been an actual loss of property, due in large measure to the emancipation of the slaves, yet the total estimated wealth of the country was almost double that of ten years before.

In one form of activity and productive investment, which had been large before the War, there was now a lamentable decay. American shipping had been almost destroyed during the War, and it never recovered from the blow. Lake shipping, however, continued to develop, and gradually reached enormous proportions.

The growth of Chicago, which had been somewhat hampered by the War, now went on apace until its supremacy as the great distributing centre of the Middle West could no longer be disputed. In 1860 it had a population of only one hundred and twelve thousand; in 1870, three hundred thousand. As other Northern cities showed phenomenal growth during the same decade, it can be seen that urban industrial development must have been large to attract so many. While the price of gold continued high for some years, or, to put it differently, while paper money remained at a considerable discount and interest rates were high, the people generally were prosperous. It was easy to go in debt, but at the time people generally lived economically. Prices of the

necessaries of life remained high, but there was less indulgence in luxuries than later. The people, as a rule, had homes simply furnished, were little given to adornment, were somewhat lacking in good taste as compared with later standards, and were rather careless about personal appearance. Those who were thrifty saved money easily, too often to lose it in speculation. Many of the Federal soldiers went South and bought abandoned estates, in the hope of bettering their condition, and in a few instances the experiment was a happy one. Most of them went into politics, or returned home convinced that conditions in the South were not such as would make a Northern man comfortable. The expectation that the freedman would welcome a chance to work hard for wages was disappointed. Some of the Southerners went to the West, but, as a rule, population remained geographically distributed as before the War.

While a detailed consideration of our financial history must be reserved for another chapter, it is important to make here a statement of the public debt and an interpretation of the currency system as it existed after the War. On October 31, 1865, the total Federal debt was given as \$2,806,549,437.55, in twenty-five different forms. The bonded indebtedness was by far the larger amount, but greenbacks, or legal tender notes, aggregated \$454,218,038, of which over \$26,000,000 was fractional currency. The greenbacks soon became an element in politics, as noted in the previous chapter, and were destined to become a burning issue in many campaigns. While they were popular in a sense, they were unsecured obligations which greatly disturbed financiers, and, almost as soon as the War ended, measures were taken to retire them. A law was passed refunding them into Federal bonds at the rate of four millions a month, but this was soon abandoned, since it contracted the currency at a time when it was greatly needed, owing to the rapid increase of business. In addition the currency which had previously been in use in the North alone had now to cover the South as well.

The greenbacks were popular because they had a definite value in all places, though, in fact, their purchasing power varied with the price of gold. Still, they were a great advance over the State bank currency issued before the War, and the people generally objected to any contraction, seeing that the demands of business were so great. It is true that the national bank currency was liable to very great expansion, and banknotes were largely in use; but at a time when there was so great industrial activity, and such an enormous amount of speculation, the demand for currency was much larger than could generally be supplied.

In a later day, as we shall see, there arose a demand for an unlimited amount of irredeemable currency, but this notion was now held only by a small, though growing faction, which unsuccessfully endeavored to capture the Democratic party. The Republican convention of 1868 declared strongly in its platform for absolute honesty in paying off the debt according to the letter and spirit of the contract, and the Democrats did the same so far as the letter of the contract was concerned, but held that debts not specified to be paid in coin should be paid in lawful money. Some Republican leaders had favored this policy.

This issue had been forced by Johnson, who, in one of his messages had taken the extraordinary ground that the bondholders had already the best of the bargain, had received in coin, as interest, a sum equal to the coin value of their original investment, and that future interest payments should be devoted to reducing the principal. Even supposing that there was some element of abstract justice in such a proposal, it is manifest that it would have resulted in the gravest financial disaster to the country. Much of the money to carry on the War had been received from abroad, and millions were pouring into the country to be invested in various commercial and industrial enterprises. To set up any standard of repudiation would have stopped the flow from abroad when it was so much needed, would have weakened national credit almost irrevocably, and would have prevented progress

for many years. Congress treated Johnson's proposal with the contempt it deserved, but it caught the fancy of many persons.

In truth, the greatest suffering in the country in the few years immediately succeeding the war arose out of debts contracted at a time when gold was at its highest premium. In the adjustment of prices which followed the fall in gold, the debtor found himself with unexpected burdens, and much discontent arose. Many farms had been mortgaged at a time when currency was at a large discount, and it was difficult to secure the sum to repay when, in the new order of things, prices for labor and agricultural products began to fall relatively to the original contract.

But it should be said that in spite of all the sufferings caused by the changes in prices, the people of the country set themselves manfully to the task of paying private and public obligations. That many fortunes had been made during the War by unscrupulous contractors is undoubtedly. That advantage had been taken of the War by many to demand more than was just is unquestioned. The suffering was great, but the desire for repudiation was hardly noticeable for some years, and when it did come it was under a mistaken economic philosophy which intended no wrong, though an economic error was its actual basis.

It is noteworthy that in State and Federal official life the leaders of public thought generally were comparatively new men who had reached prominence either just before or during the War. Of the remarkable group of men who sat in the Senate and the House in 1850, few were now left in positions of high responsibility except some of the youngest of that day who had in the meantime won their spurs.

Johnson had been a member of Congress before the War, as had Seward, and both of them were passing into eclipse. The Great Triumvirate was gone, Benton was dead, Davis in jail, Chase, now chief justice, in failing health. Douglas and Cass were dead. Of that brilliant galaxy of Whigs and Democrats from the South, not one was in public life except

CHAPTER IV

SOME FOREIGN COMPLICATIONS AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

BEFORE giving any account of Grant's administration, it is necessary to go back a few years and take up the thread of foreign affairs, which had been by no means entirely satisfactory under Johnson and which reached a crisis under Grant.

Lincoln had been greatly disturbed by the conduct of Emperor Napoleon III. in setting up a pseudo-government in Mexico at the moment when the United States was engaged in a civil war. All that Lincoln could do at the time was to issue the most vigorous protests, which bothered the emperor not a whit. He seemed to have expected and rather desired the success of the Confederacy, which would have coincided with his plans in Mexico. The fortunes of that poor country from the day she declared independence had been heartrending in the extreme. In common with most of the Spanish-American republics, revolution was a prolific industry, but Mexico perhaps suffered more than any of her sisters. Civil wars were constant, and each succeeding government borrowed money wherever it could at a discount and at most usurious rates; so that in 1861 the nominal foreign debt was over one hundred million dollars, upon which interest was by law entirely suspended for two years owing to the bankrupt condition of the country. Some of the bonds represented value received; others were fraudulent. Most of the holders were in Europe. The governments of France, Spain, and Great Britain joined in a naval

John Morrissey, and Fernando Wood, the redoubtable ex-mayor. The Ohio delegation included General Schenck, of poker fame, Samuel Shellabarger, and John A. Bingham. Samuel J. Randall and William D. Kelley, both of Philadelphia, were vigorous Pennsylvanians whose great work lay yet before them.

These are some of the younger men who sat in the last Congress of the Johnson administration and of whom so much was to be heard in years to come. There were others who had been in authority before the war and were now passing off the stage. Among the governors there were men who had won distinction in the army and who were in line for promotion in politics.

It was a fortunate circumstance that the candidacy of General Grant was so insisted upon by the party in power, since, in a contest, with the hero of Appomattox eliminated, there would have been a scramble that might have had serious results. It was a time when there were many ambitions and each aspirant was willing to wait so that he might get his house in order.

General Grant was borne into the presidency under unusual circumstances. In many respects the four years of Reconstruction had been almost as anxious a period as that of actual war. Faith in Grant was by no means bounded by party lines, and few presidents have assumed office amidst more widespread satisfaction or with higher expectations from the whole people. During the Johnson administration he had conducted himself with a dignity and a firmness which had both enhanced his reputation and dissipated the little prejudice which still remained against him. After the stormy period of Johnson, the people looked forward with longing to a few years of political repose. In this, however, they were not entirely to be gratified.

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demonstration, and in 1862 took possession of Vera Cruz, with the avowed intention of collecting customs sufficient to pay off all claims.

While the avowed intentions of all the governments were pacific, and the collection, as arranged, one to which the United States could not object even under a strict application of the Monroe Doctrine, yet it was soon felt that there was an ulterior motive on the part of the Emperor Napoleon, whose dreams of empire were as great as those of his uncle. When, after a brief stay of the foreign fleets near Vera Cruz, the Spanish and British bondholders made a composition with Mexico, those nations withdrew their forces, and it was expected that France would do the same. On the contrary, Napoleon refused the terms, satisfactory to others, demanded full payment of a fraudulent claim of some fifteen million dollars based on the so-called Jecker bonds, and sent Bazaine with an army to the capital, which fell before him. Even then Napoleon would make no terms, but insisted on setting up a monarchy, placed Maximilian of Austria on the throne, and awaited the success of the Confederacy.

Unfortunately for his ambitions, matters at home soon became serious, and the Mexicans having at last taken courage and begun to reassert themselves, Napoleon found that with the success of the Federal forces in the United States he must face another war. Under the circumstances, this was impossible; so he basely abandoned Maximilian, who was finally captured and killed, and his empire fell as quickly as it rose.

Seward had kept the situation in hand, so far as the United States was concerned, and no sooner had Lee and Johnston surrendered than Sheridan was ordered to the Rio Grande ready with an army to drive out the French, if necessary. Fortunately, the United States was not called upon to invade Mexico again, and the affair ended, so far as the United States was concerned, with some important diplomatic exchanges. This was the first time a European power had openly and forcibly defied the Monroe Doctrine,

but the issue was declined then as ever since, though the principle has not been fully acceded to by any of the powers of Europe.

The relations of the United States with Germany and Russia during the War had been cordial, but there had been many passages at diplomacy with Great Britain, and the War left questions unsettled that called for adjustment. The chief claim against Great Britain was that she had not fully obeyed the obligations of neutrality with respect to the Confederate cruisers which were built in her shipyards, and which had practically destroyed American commerce on the seas. It proved unfortunate that the United States had not fully adhered to the Paris convention of 1856, but it is not altogether likely that this would have saved her much in actual material. It is now well established in the minds of all commentators on international law as well as among naval men that the Confederate navy was legal enough, so far as the Confederate government was concerned, and that the various vessels which it sent out were neither pirates nor privateers.

With respect to Great Britain the subject was different. The American representatives had warned the British government in the matter of the cruisers on more than one occasion, and it may be said that it was an open secret in regard to a number of them that their destination was the Confederate service. However, the United States became insistent even to the verge of war, which would have surely followed had not a change been made in the policy of the British ministry. The American minister, Charles Francis Adams, finally secured attention, and in the latter part of the War no suspicious vessels were allowed to go forth. This was too late to save American shipping, and immediately after the War the United States set up a claim against Great Britain for damages resulting from this violation of neutrality.

It is difficult for the present generation to understand the tension of feeling at the time over this question, which was

finally settled so happily and in such a novel manner. The relations between the ministries of the two governments had been scarcely more than coldly civil throughout the War. Loyal Americans felt that the belligerency of the Confederacy was recognized by Great Britain's queen with undue precipitancy in face of the known fact that a new United States minister sent by Lincoln was to arrive in London within a few days. The "*Trent affair*" brought matters to an issue, which at one time seemed to portend war. There is a notion too prevalent among Americans that their government backed down absolutely in this matter in a rather craven way. This is not the truth. Had the original instructions of the British ministry to its minister at Washington, Lord Lyons, been sent, a rupture could scarcely have been avoided. On his deathbed the Prince Consort amended the instructions with his own hand, with the consent of the queen, and private instructions were sent to Lord Lyons, which made an accommodation possible. The United States government did not in the least apologize for its conduct or deny that the seizure was justifiable. On the contrary, it maintained that the Confederate commissioners Mason and Slidell were contraband of war and that the only error of Captain Wilkes, of the *San Jacinto*, lay in not bringing the *Trent* as well as the commissioners into port for trial before a prize court.

Of course this was something of an intellectual feat rather than a real victory in diplomacy. The fact was that the United States claimed the argument but gave up the commissioners, while Great Britain entered a solemn protest against the grounds upon which the United States claimed her action was based. This subject, which grew so large as to threaten war, continued to occupy the minds of the British people. We well know that at this time the sentiment of probably a majority of the English people was in favor of the North, but this cannot be said of the ruling classes. It must be remembered that in Great Britain as well as in continental Europe, aside from any social

considerations, the tendency was to judge Republican governments by the standard of those in Central and South America rather than by that of the United States. Moreover, the loss of raw cotton to European manufacturers was a tremendous one, so that it can be freely said that the adherence to this country by the British government and so many of the people under the circumstances was not only creditable but more than could normally have been expected.

The claims for damages, however, involved a question of responsibility which the American government persistently pushed. Seward, whatever may have been his failure to interpret popular opinion on Reconstruction, was a vigorous American, and one who served his country with intelligence and untiring industry. He had not confined himself to matters growing out of the Civil War, but had persisted at all times upon a settlement of others which were of long standing, such as the Newfoundland fisheries, the Puget Sound boundary, and some of lesser moment. Negotiations for a treaty covering these points had been unsuccessfully attempted several times. Immediately after the close of the War when Charles Francis Adams, then minister to London, made demands for depredations committed by the *Alabama* and other British constructed cruisers, he was told absolutely that the British government declined to make reparation or refer the matter to any foreign State for arbitration.

Adams's successor was a former United States senator, the eminent lawyer, Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland. He was patriotic and earnest, but made the fatal mistake of negotiating a treaty in which the cardinal issue of the Alabama depredations was in terms omitted. He is so far excusable in that he found it impossible to have such a subject introduced, except as the arbitration of general difficulties was provided for, and he may very justly have considered that the way to raise such an issue was to negotiate a treaty covering other matters and let it be rejected on the ground of its inadequacy. If such a thought was in his mind, it was

successful, for the treaty at no time stood the slightest chance of ratification by the United States Senate.

When the treaty negotiated by Minister Johnson reached the United States, Sumner, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, was in the plenitude of that power and authority from which he was soon to be hurled. He was strongly against the treaty, which certainly was inadequate to the occasion, in any event, and Sumner was a man who liked to assume a Jovian attitude. It was soon known that the Senate would not accept the treaty, and the only question was whether new negotiations would lead to better results.

Another foreign matter of the Johnson administration needs to be noticed. In 1867, Secretary Seward astounded the country by presenting a treaty with Russia whereby Alaska was to be acquired by the United States for the sum of seven million two hundred thousand dollars. In view of subsequent events, it is strange that there was so much popular opposition to this measure. To pay so largely for a lot of frozen territory utterly unproductive, except of a few skins which all nations might possibly get, seemed like folly. Nevertheless, the treaty was ratified and the money paid, and it can be said that the origin of this bargain has proved, in many respects, one of the most vexing subjects the United States has known. It has been asserted with some authority that the purchase was not because America had any desire for the desert region or that Russia cared to get rid of what was of no value to her, but that it was because Secretary Seward, who had been privy to the secret designs and expenditures of Russia at a time when France and Great Britain were meditating more practical efforts in behalf of the Confederacy, desired to make proper reimbursement for the service, and took this means of doing so. The story is that the Russian fleet in American waters during the War was ordered to report to President Lincoln for orders in case Great Britain and France made any actual intervention in behalf of the Confederacy. This story has

been denied as often as told, but there seems to be some basis for the belief that Russia would have been glad, if she had found good opportunity, to do something to avenge the wrongs which she felt she had suffered in the Crimean War.

Probably the exact truth in this respect will never be known. What is of importance is that Sumner, who seemed to balk at the proposition at first, and who was in a mood to do anything against the administration, came over to the view that the purchase was desirable, and it was effected without difficulty. It seems useless at this date to comment on the desirability of the purchase, since it has been worth, in money alone, many times the sum paid for it, while the wealth of the region seems almost unlimited.

One more treaty did not fare so well. The desire for a naval station in the West Indies had been very strong for many years, but during the War it seemed imperative. The need of such a station was obvious; so that Seward supposed he would have no difficulty whatever in gaining the assent of the Senate to a treaty with Denmark, whereby the United States obtained the Island of St. Thomas with its magnificent natural harbor. The natives were willing, and the Danish government acquiesced, but Sumner objected. That he was opposed to Johnson and all his works is easily understood, but that he should have secured the rejection of a treaty which was practically all in favor of his country seems inexplicable except as his later career is noted.

Thus it happened that when General Grant came to the White House there were laid upon him unusual responsibilities. Although not a tried statesman, he was a man of strong common sense. Much would depend upon the Cabinet which he might select. It cannot be said that he was altogether happy in the attitude which he took toward this important question. When an eminent political leader called upon him to present the claims of one of the most distinguished of war governors,—Andrew G. Curtin, of Pennsylvania, whose services were well known to Grant,—the

latter announced that he considered his Cabinet his family, that he had made up his mind and Curtin could not be placed. When this emissary—Colonel McClure—remarked that a president needed politicians of the highest type around him, just as the commander of an army needed generals, the suggestion was ill received. Grant's great failing throughout his official career was his lack of judgment in regard to men outside of military channels and his stubborn adherence to them even when their incompetence, or worse, was apparent.

Grant's inauguration took place under the happiest auspices. His inaugural, of which "Let us have peace" was the dominant note, was well received. He selected for his Cabinet men of known ability, though not all versed in political management. For the premiership he sent in the name of Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, who had been his constant friend during the war, though, personally, Grant had scarcely known him. This nomination was a pure compliment, as in a few days he was succeeded by Hamilton Fish, of New York, while Washburne went to France as minister and had a remarkably successful career under trying circumstances.

For secretary of the treasury Grant had selected A. T. Stewart, of New York, whose qualifications for the position were undoubtedly. It soon appeared that there was an ancient statute which rendered ineligible for the position any man engaged in importing. Stewart, who appreciated the compliment of the nomination, offered to trustee his property in such a way that during his incumbency of the office he could have no possible interest in importations, but this was felt to be insufficient. Other efforts to overcome the difficulty failed in a way that raised the ire of the president, who was a simple-minded man and unaccustomed to either the mazes of politics or the wiles of politicians. It nettled him that Congress should refuse to remove the disabilities of a man so eminently fitted to perform the duties of the office, when the restrictions were such as never could have

been of importance and were now obsolete. This first clash with Congress was not entirely pleasing, and it had some serious results. In Stewart's place was confirmed George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, a man of singular financial ability, who had been prominent in politics for twenty years.

The rest of the Cabinet comprised General Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, who had been a corps commander, as secretary of the interior; E. Rockwood Hoar, of Massachusetts, attorney-general; John A. J. Cresswell, of Maryland, postmaster-general; and, in a short time, General Rawlins, of Illinois, Grant's *fidus Achates*, secretary of war; and Adolph E. Borie, of Pennsylvania, secretary of the navy. General Rawlins died soon after his appointment, to the great regret of many of Grant's most intimate friends, who believed that he supplied the qualities which the president lacked. He was succeeded by W. W. Belknap, of Iowa, whose qualifications fell short of those of his predecessor. Borie served for a few months and was succeeded by George M. Robeson, of New Jersey.

Now it would be wrong to say that these men were lacking in abilities. A few had been conspicuously brilliant in public and private life, but none of them represented a constituency in the sense that every president's adviser ought. The chief magistrate of the nation should be surrounded by men who not only have ability, but who represent the various phases and sections of the party, at least, and preferably of the whole country. There was not one of them who could lay claim to such distinction unless possibly it were Fish; though all were admirable men. Grant's theory of a family party in the Cabinet did not work well, as he soon found to his personal cost. Before long Judge Hoar and General Cox retired because of differences with the president, being succeeded by Amos T. Akerman, of Georgia, and Columbus Delano, of Ohio. This did not strengthen the Cabinet politically, nor did the later substitution of George H. Williams, of Oregon, as attorney-general.

In fact, General Grant, with his inexperience of politics, did not fully understand the functions of the Cabinet nor the necessity for entrusting the various members with heavy responsibilities for which they should be held accountable. The first important clash came over the treaty for the annexation of San Domingo. A matter so important as this was naturally a subject for Cabinet consultation and primarily for negotiation through the State Department. Grant believed that it was greatly desirable to annex the island, not only for a naval base, but also as an outlet for many freed-men who were homeless and who might be expected to get along better in a negro republic than among the whites of the South. The treaty was privately negotiated by one of Grant's secretaries. The Cabinet was astounded when informed by the president of his action. It aroused immediate opposition, not only in the president's official family, but in the Senate, where Sumner made the opposition his own and fought the treaty to the death.

While Sumner may have been conscientious in his opposition to the treaty, his conduct was such as to lend suspicion that he was anxious to make the treaty a test case with Grant. For years as head of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Sumner had been encroaching on the executive domain until it was evident that an issue must soon be forced. Sumner wrote letters to foreign ministers giving them instructions as if he were secretary of state, a course which resulted in grave complications.

A commission of able men was sent to San Domingo to examine into its condition and resources. Its report was distinctly favorable to the treaty, but the treaty failed. From this time on the relations between Sumner and Grant were hostile, but in the end the latter won a victory, for Sumner was finally removed from his chairmanship, which he had loved so much and whose importance he had exaggerated. There was many an official in Washington about this time who expressed contempt for the president as a civilian, and who assumed to be "a bigger man than Grant." Some

of them had temporary success, but in the end all discovered their mistake. Grant in politics may have been prone to error, but he was equally prone to success.

It was unfortunate that this clash should have come so early in his administration, for it tended to make Grant more and more suspicious of politicians, made him adhere more tenaciously to his friends, and consider as enemies even those who conscientiously differed from him and acted with complete candor and fair dealing. The result was a split in the Republican party, which at one time threatened to disrupt it. It must be remembered, however, that this situation did not grow entirely out of Grant's inexperience. There were men around him who used his friendship to advance personal interests and to engage in schemes of public plunder which resulted in scandals to be hereafter described.

Relief for the negro through emigration being denied, the president continued to administer affairs in the South as best he could. Although the last of the Southern States was formally "reconstructed" in 1871, the troops were not entirely withdrawn from the South. There still remained considerable numbers at the various posts; and though these were not enough really to overawe the people, such was the power of the blue uniform and the respect for the flag which had conquered that the Southern people affected to believe that the presence of the troops amounted to duress. In dealing with the local troubles, the Ku Klux Klan and other disturbances, the president acted firmly, but with discretion. He had no mind to act in any partisan sense, and he was by no means inflamed against the Southern people. At the outset of his administration he nominated a number of eminent Confederate generals for Federal positions, and would have gone further in this respect had he not found his motives thoroughly misunderstood at the North, and his appointees as far as possible made odious by their brothers of the South. He expected to be met with the same magnanimity which he showed at Appomattox and at the opening

of his administration, all unmindful of the fact that this was contrary to all precedent and was opposed to the general run of human nature, which at such times prefers prejudice to high principle. Grant had not originally favored the Congressional plan of reconstruction, but now that it was law, he proposed to enforce it with all the power at his command.

It is likely that had Grant, while president, talked with the freedom and rare lucidity of later years, he would have saved himself an immense amount of trouble. He could think well, but he would not talk unless to his closest friends. In consequence, visitors at the White House often found themselves embarrassed at the silence of the president. Many went away offended, though there was not the slightest intention of the president to give offence. No man feels like being confidential to a sphinx, and it thus came about that only a small coterie became habitual visitors at the White House, and some of them for ignoble purposes. The administration was not a party one, but personal to an unprecedented degree, which was not pleasing to most of the leaders of the dominant party. Yet few of them went at once into open opposition.

At the very first, Grant's administration came near being wrecked in the gold gambling conspiracy culminating in Black Friday, which will be described in another chapter. It was the coolness of the president and the common sense of his secretary of the treasury that saved the day at a time when the conspiracy was on the verge of success. This had an important effect on Grant's mind, and thereafter he was careful with whom he consulted on financial affairs, one of his closest intimates being George W. Childs, of the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*. Grant's courage was shown in his action on the bill to increase the amount of greenbacks. He had privately expressed approval of the bill on its way through Congress, but, confronted with the issue, he studied it deeply and vetoed it in the face of a storm of opposition. It may be said that, during his two administrations, when

so many things came to light that were discreditable and which involved some of his closest friends; there were those who believed Grant personally implicated; yet no such opinion obtains in this day, and no stain on the personal character of Grant has been discovered.

The undoubted triumph of Grant's first administration was the Treaty of Washington, by which arrangements were made for settling practically every point of dispute between the United States and Great Britain. It replaced the Johnson-Clarendon effort at a treaty, which had been peremptorily declined by the Senate and it was argued on behalf of Seward and Reverdy Johnson, that, so far as the contracting parties were concerned, there was an intention to resort to arbitration, but that the *Alabama* affair was omitted by name to save the face of the British government which had so positively declined to consider it. Still the rejection was proper, since it was impossible by inference to pledge the dying Johnson administration to its successor, and in diplomacy frankness is always the best policy.

The Treaty of Washington, so called because it was concluded at the national capital, was a masterpiece of statesmanship, creditable alike to both nations. It was an avowed expression of a determination to leave the principal matters of dispute to disinterested arbitration, and to let past prejudices slumber.

It provided for the arbitration of the claims arising out of the destruction of American property by the *Alabama* and other cruisers constructed in British yards; for a commission to settle war claims not connected with these cruisers; for the future regulation of the fisheries along the Newfoundland coasts; also for a commission to determine what damages, if any, should be paid by the United States for invasions of British rights in the past; for the free navigation of St. Lawrence, Yukon, and other rivers; and finally for the determination of the Puget Sound boundary by the Emperor of Germany.

In these later days this treaty does not seem so remarkable as it did when promulgated. We have become somewhat used to arbitration in international affairs, but up to the signing of the treaty in 1871 and its ratification, soon after signing, settlement of so many weighty international problems had never been attempted without resort to war. For considerations less than were involved in the slightest of the differences to be settled, bloody wars have taken place and nations have been devastated. It can be said that the signing of this treaty caused a general thanksgiving throughout the civilized world. But it is unfortunately to be noted that much greater things were expected from the final execution of every item in the treaty than events have justified. Progress is not made so rapidly as enthusiasts expect, but it cannot be denied that the peace of the world has been greatly advanced by the treaty in spite of the serious wars since its promulgation. The subsequent progress has been more real than apparent.

According to the terms of the treaty, arbitrators in the affair of the cruisers were to be appointed by the King of Italy, the President of Switzerland, and the Emperor of Brazil, in addition to one each by the contracting parties. The manner of selecting these commissioners was an effort to secure absolute fairness so far as that, humanly speaking, was possible.

The High Court of Arbitration, commonly known as the Alabama Claims Commission, met at Geneva, Switzerland, December 15, 1871, and was composed as follows: for the United States, Charles Francis Adams; for Great Britain, Sir Alexander Cockburn; for Switzerland, Jacques Staempfli; for Italy, Count Sclopis; for Brazil, Baron Itajuba.

For the guidance of the court the Treaty of Washington had laid down certain principles of international law in accordance with which issues of fact were to be decided. A brilliant array of counsel appeared for both contending nations; the sessions of the court were long and frequent.

Every aspect of the questions was investigated, and the court determined primarily that no consequential damages should be considered, but only those which involved the destruction of actual property. The full record of the proceedings of this court makes an important chapter in the history of international law. Counsel on both sides introduced a large amount of evidence and argued every point of law with great ability. In the end the court awarded the United States damages in the sum of \$15,500,000. The British Commissioner would not sign the award and left the room without so much as bidding adieu to his associates.

The sum was promptly paid, though under most extraordinary circumstances. The British government handed the money over to a representative of the Treasury Department in London, who promptly deposited it in the Bank of England, but that institution refused to accept the deposit in the name of the government of the United States, but only in that of the American agent. As it was arranged to settle with some British holders of American bonds so as to avoid the transfer of the actual gold to this country, much time was consumed in the negotiations, and the situation of the agent as the nominal owner of the money was distressing in the extreme, since in case of his death there would be much difficulty in restoring the money to its rightful owner, the United States.

The satisfaction in America over the result was general, though it had been expected that a larger sum, if any, would be awarded. It was years before claims for the money were settled, and there remains in the treasury to-day a balance on this account, claims for which have never been proved in court. While there was a good deal of dissatisfaction in Great Britain over the result of this arbitration, yet among the wiser heads it was approved in principle and its moral effect upon the world has not been lost.

The Emperor of Germany decided in favor of the United States in the Puget Sound boundary line controversy, while

the commissioners on the fishing affair awarded over five million dollars to Great Britain. It may be said that the fisheries question has never been settled, that in later days dissensions have arisen, and that without settling definitely the points involved, American fishing has continued under a *modus vivendi* agreed upon at different dates under varying conditions; but friction over the matter has never culminated in anything more than diplomatic combat.

There are several important events connected with the first Grant administration, or occurring therein, which must be narrated in other chapters for the benefit of considering them in their relations. It will be necessary at this time to consider only the political situation which resulted in a partial revolt in the Republican party in 1871 and an attempt to prevent Grant's reëlection.

It has been said that the administration was a personal rather than a party one, that antagonisms were aroused which might easily have been prevented by a more tactful man or one of larger experience. The important fact is that the political differences engendered within the Republican party at this time were never entirely healed.

While the mass of Republicans were loyal to the president and took only a slight interest in the contentions and antagonisms at Washington, there was no inconsiderable number of political leaders, editors and business men, who felt that a mistake had been made in choosing a man without experience for the presidential office, and that at least it should not be repeated. There was much of this feeling among some of the leading men of New England, who were not of a type to appreciate the innate virtues of Grant or to endeavor to come to a complete understanding with him. Judge Hoar had been curtly dismissed from the Cabinet because Grant felt it necessary to make a political bargain. It is true that Lincoln had done almost similar things, but with infinite tact even if on the surface with no more political morality. The Senate had previously refused to confirm Hoar as a justice of the Supreme Court, and when Grant

found it necessary at last to descend into practical politics, he followed the advice of his friends to some extent, but used his own military methods. It is true that he was much attached to Secretary Boutwell, who had administered the treasury with great success, but who was soon to take a seat in the Senate, which he preferred to a Cabinet position. Grant's administration of the patronage was totally different, for instance, from that of McKinley, who, with infinite tact, consulted the senators from the various States, and, when he failed to secure what he wanted, was able to do something equally suitable to his purpose. And yet Grant was one of the earliest of civil service reformers in theory and to an extent in fact.

The cry of Cæsarism, which grew up at this time, was hardly justifiable. Grant was indeed president, but he exercised far less authority than Roosevelt, for instance. It was partly the spirit of the times which militated against him, partly the ambitions of his nearest friends, but largely his own temperament. The result was a very considerable defection, which led to a movement among those who styled themselves Liberal Republicans. It began in a few States and received unexpected strength from the adherence of men of more personal distinction than political following. As the movement grew, it was hoped that there might be a coalition with the Democratic party which would ensure victory.

That such a scheme was possible seemed undoubted, but it depended largely upon the candidates in the field. Most unexpectedly the man who rose into greatest prominence was Horace Greeley, who, as editor of the *New York Tribune*, had exercised a tremendous power in politics for more than a generation, and who had been not only the most uncompromising of Republicans, but the bitterest foe of Democracy. For more than thirty years he had lashed the Democratic party, its leaders, and all its works, with denunciations that stung like scorpions, wherefore many of the Liberal Republicans felt he was the wrong man to lead

any coalition which could be successful. Few there were brave enough to tell him so, but many were determined to prevent his nomination. The candidate who seemed to promise the greatest chances of success was David Davis, the friend of Lincoln, now on the Supreme Bench. He was as ambitious as Greeley, but was far less vulnerable as a candidate.

When the national Liberal Republican convention met at Cincinnati, May 1, 1872, the Eastern men felt that they had accomplished the defeat of Greeley. That convention was composed of some notable men, and was presided over by General Carl Schurz. While, for the most part, the delegates were conscientiously opposed to Grant, and acted in behalf of what they believed to be a better state of things for the country, there were some who were selfish and hoped for prominence in the coming administration. It has frequently been said that Greeley was the effective power which prevented the nomination of Seward at Chicago when Lincoln was chosen by a convention which he said was "two-thirds for the other fellow." Greeley was now to benefit by some manipulation of an unexpected kind—if one can suppose that it was a benefit for him to succeed at this time.

It developed that the Eastern leaders, who had generally settled upon Davis, met an unexpected check from the Missouri delegation, which wanted B. Gratz Brown for second place, and necessarily were for an Eastern man for the presidency. They worked for Greeley, and by skilful combinations finally accomplished his nomination, to the great regret of some of the most conscientious opponents of Grant. They did not believe that the Democrats would endorse him. Such an event seemed so illogical as to be impossible. The Democracy, however, was in no position to be logical, since it was without strong organization and destitute of the leadership necessary for the occasion. Greeley and Brown were endorsed, and the general cry of the whole campaign was reform.

What the Liberal Republican leaders had feared proved true in substance. The Democracy might endorse Greeley, but it was impossible unanimously to support him, while much of what Greeley had said and written of Democracy came back to vex him. The political campaign that followed was one of the most novel and interesting in history. Though Greeley was supported by many men who had been prominent in the Republican party, by some of its leading newspapers, and though he entered upon an unprecedented tour of stump speaking, the end was disaster. It was not until August that the success of Grant seemed assured. He had been unanimously nominated at Philadelphia, June 6th, with Senator Henry Wilson for vice-president after Colfax had once declined to be a candidate and had reentered a losing contest.

The campaign of opposition to Grant broke down in the early autumn. State elections showed that the masses of the Republican party were true to the victor of Appomattox. It may be that there was not a widespread and thoughtful consideration of all the issues involved, but if there had been it seems impossible that the decision under the circumstances could have been different. Greeley had ever been ambitious of political office at a time when his personal influence was greater than that of almost any political leader in the country. When the firm of Seward, Weed, Greeley and Company dominated the politics of New York, Greeley was ever anxious even for small office; yet so well was it known by his most intimate friends that he had no executive qualities, that outside the editorial sanctum where he was a master of masters he was almost a child, he was never permitted to have any preferment except a fraction of a term in Congress to fill a vacancy. In a spirit of petulance, he broke up the political firm because his rival editor, Henry J. Raymond, was nominated for lieutenant-governor.

There were thousands of men who had followed Greeley in politics, where he had many vagaries, and in sociology and agriculture where he had more, who had looked up to

him as an apostle and a priest and almost a king in political affairs, who could not vote for him. The end was almost a tragedy. His health broke down in the campaign, and he was further afflicted by the death of his beloved wife. Finally, his mind gave way, and he died soon after the election had gone overwhelmingly against him and before the presidential electors could cast their votes. It is one of the most pitiful tragedies in American political history.

CHAPTER V

CONSTRUCTION OF THE FIRST TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILWAY

THE construction of the first American transcontinental railway arose out of a combination of romance, practical politics, and commercial necessity. A generation which has so many chances of visiting the Pacific coast over various railway lines in luxurious coaches can have no idea of the effect produced upon the popular mind by the conception and completion of this mighty work.

To a great extent credit for the work is due to Senator Thomas H. Benton, greatest of American statesmen from beyond the Mississippi, though he did not live to see its construction commenced. More than any other man of his age he foresaw the development of the West, and was accustomed to speak of it often in the Senate until that body got weary of what it considered the vagaries of a diseased imagination. In the twenties he astounded the Senate by insisting that the time would come when west of the Rockies there would be a population of fifteen millions. This was considered foolish, but no more than might be expected from a man who actually proposed that this country send ministers to China and Japan to negotiate treaties of commerce, on the ground that from our Pacific coast we should have commerce with those countries. While some persons actually thought Benton mad, they did not then say so, but finally they had no hesitation in asserting it when the senator, after the war with Mexico, began to

insist upon building a railway across the country. At that time the project was looked upon as not only impossible, but as fanciful as a proposal to run a line of airships across the Atlantic would now be considered.

When Benton began to speak on this subject, the Senate chamber was likely to be quickly emptied, and the old man lamented the short-sightedness of those who would not even listen to the truth. Finally, he did accomplish something. The explorations of his son-in-law, Frémont, the "Pathfinder," and the discovery of gold in California, had a wonderful effect on the public imagination; so that money was appropriated for a survey, just to see whether there was any possibility of constructing a line, even in the improbable event of there being enough money in the country to build it. It was assumed that in any event the road would have to go south of the Rocky Mountains, hence one great reason for making the "Gadsden Purchase" was to get territory below the mountain ranges, so that in the distant future a road might be constructed there. This did not satisfy Benton, who insisted that the road should be built directly across the plains and up to Puget Sound, following the track of the buffalo, which went north every winter and returned south in the summer. He maintained that the buffalo was the best engineer in the world, and that where the buffalo went engineering science could construct a railway. Then it was said in Washington, sadly indeed, that Benton was "gone in the head," and many were the laments that a man whose past was so splendid, who had done so much for the country, should have such a pitiful end.

Yet, to an extent, Benton was justified during his lifetime. When his son-in-law was nominated for president by the first national Republican convention, a plank favoring the construction of a railway to the Pacific was inserted in the platform. At this time the subject was considered an academic one, but the party was young and enthusiastic and willing to include anything in its programme which seemed desirable and popular.

Four years brought a very remarkable change in the situation. Engineers had examined the central route and declared it feasible, though at a cost which was then staggering to a nation with a total revenue of only some seventy millions. At the meeting of the Republican national convention in Chicago in 1860, the platform committee took up the subject, this time very seriously. The party leaders felt that any chance of success depended on getting the votes of Oregon and California; and, moreover, in the event of Republican success, the fear of secession was ever before their eyes. Considering that the Pacific coast was so far from the East and that so many Southerners had settled there, it was thought that an opportunity might be taken to join in secession, since the section had not, either traditionally or historically, a warm attachment for the Union. Therefore, the platform as adopted declared strongly for the construction of the road with government aid.

The Democratic platform was equivocal. Government aid was impossible under the constitutional view of leading Democrats. The railway was endorsed by the Republican party, and the government was recommended to give all possible constitutional aid. California and Oregon responded to the Republican pledge, voted for Lincoln, and remained true to the Union, in the face of tremendous efforts to get them into the Confederacy. Thus, the first transcontinental railway was an active agent in the preservation of the Union, even before the surveys were completed.

Even in the midst of war the subject was kept alive, though its neglect might reasonably have been expected. In 1862 Congress passed an act which provided for the construction of the road in two sections, between the one hundredth meridian and the Pacific, which afterward became known as the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific systems. To aid the work, Congress gave an immense land grant, consisting of, as finally arranged, alternate sections of one mile square for ten miles back on each side of the road, amounting to ten square miles of land for each mile

of road constructed, furnished sixteen thousand dollars a mile for construction through ordinary country, and to the Central Pacific thirty-two thousand dollars in rougher country and forty-eight thousand dollars in the mountain section; for which the government was to receive first mortgage bonds.

A large number of eminent men, East and West, undertook to form corporations to construct the road. The first effort was a complete failure except to push surveys and prepare for actual construction in the future. The stock of these corporations was in one thousand dollar shares, which sold slowly because the government's first mortgage made it seem likely that dividends would be slow in arriving. The government was in the money market as a constant borrower on terms which were much more advantageous than those offered by the railroad. Efforts to enlist foreign capital failed, as foreigners also preferred the national bonds to stock of problematical value or second mortgage bonds; in any event, until the War was over, they declined to go very heartily into the enterprise.

In this situation there was nothing to do but go back to Congress for better terms, which must be granted or the enterprise would have to be abandoned. Accordingly, in 1864, a more liberal act was passed, though not with all the privileges requested.

By this bill the subvention of the government was greatly increased. It was provided that the sixteen-thousand-dollar rate for prairie sections, twice that for hill sections, and three times that for mountain sections, should apply to the whole line, and that a government engineer should decide where dividing lines between the sections should be located. Viewed in the light of present knowledge this grant was extremely liberal, and we know as a fact that those engaged in the enterprise made fortunes. The fact is, however, that even this second offer did not bring in capital so quickly as desired, and that a third application to Congress was made successfully, so that those who should

be induced to enter into the scheme might have abundant prospects of success.

We should look upon this project in the light of its own day, not in that of the present. For various reasons, the subject long attracted as little serious attention as would a proposal now to build a railway in Greenland under a seemingly liberal subsidy. The nation was at war. The West was menaced by the Indians. The Pacific States were further removed in time than the Philippine Islands are at the present (1905). It was simply another case of Gallio with the financiers. They "cared for none of these things"; and why should they, when there were so many things close at hand which seemed to promise so much? We can now easily figure out the fortunes made in this enterprise, and it has been a common custom to censure the government for its liberality, simply because this particular undertaking was profitable to its promoters. It can only be said that the government was really the aggressor. It endorsed every additional claim for aid, and it can be freely said that if every dollar expended by the government had been irretrievably lost the subvention would have been an ultimate gain. We know, however, that the government lost none of the principal of its investment and very little interest.

Those who have been censorious in this matter fail to understand how many railway enterprises of that time failed absolutely. If one were to count up the millions lost beyond redemption in railway construction in the United States only between 1861 and 1881—to go no further—the sum invested by the government would appear small indeed. It may be asserted that the success of the first transcontinental railway led to other unnecessary and unprofitable enterprises. Still, any analysis of the value of this original work must take into consideration a thousand interests.

It is possible to argue in the light of recent events that the road could have been constructed without any government aid at all, and that there was an immense amount

of profit inhering to the pioneers who stuck to the enterprise from beginning to end. This is true enough. It would also be easy to prove that if the Confederates, who thought that there was an innate and constitutional right on the part of the various States to secede, had been better informed, some ten billions, it is estimated, would have been saved to the country. Mistakes in judgment are as costly as right estimates. It is no more proper to censure the men who made fortunes out of the construction of the first transcontinental railway than it is to say that great inventors who have made fortunes ought to be imprisoned, or that Columbus himself was an adventurer who ought to have spent his life in jail. It is a fact of unpleasant and constant memory that success always engenders opposition. However, we may safely say, that the first transcontinental railway would not have been undertaken unless a large profit was expected.

In giving an account of construction it is well to begin with the western end of the line. In California had been gathered some extraordinary men from all parts of the country. It took men of courage and grit to make the journey to the New Eldorado in 1849, but we know that ten years after the discovery of gold at Sutter's Mills there was an unusual gathering of Americans in California, men of high mental calibre, who loved freedom, but believed that there was no future for the Pacific unless allied with the East. We can well understand why this was no soil for the propagation of slavery even after the most arduous efforts of the Southern people. Yet such efforts were made, and, to the disgust of the propagandists, there was only one vote for slavery in the constitutional convention. Still, the question of secession was different, and only through the means already described was the Pacific Slope kept intact.

Sacramento, near the site of the gold discoveries, soon needed better than river connections with the Golden Gate. It is almost impossible in this day to impress the rising generation with a sense of the risk and danger which confronted

a few men who thought it possible not only to have a railway from Sacramento to San Francisco but to the East. It is doubtful if to-day a proposal to have some communication with the alleged inhabitants of Mars would so greatly stir the enthusiasm or arouse the imagination of the people as the railway proposal stirred and aroused Californians, to whom a trip East was a matter of months, of much danger and great expense.

There were many men in California at that time of comparatively modest estate who had the courage of their convictions and were of a very speculative spirit. Out of this coterie four men emerged whose names have become household words, and they were examples of the survival of the fittest under such conditions. They fought and begged and pleaded for money until they were called insane. Men who would unhesitatingly invest thousands in an alleged mine would not give a cent for a proposed railway across the Sierras. George Crocker, William R. Hearst, Leland Stanford, and Collis P. Huntington are known in this day as multi-millionaires who received enormous sums through the liberality of the government. That each of them did become extremely rich is unquestioned, but it is now forgotten that at the time they went up and down California begging people to invest in the enterprise, when they had not only pledged their private fortunes but more credit than they could have redeemed, these men were looked upon as fools, and there were those who shook their heads and said that the West could never come to anything so long as such men were looked upon as leaders.

What wonder that these men had to appeal to Congress for aid? What wonder that at every step they were in doubt as to whether they would fail? They had to overcome unusual problems in piercing mountains by tunnels, crossing ravines and rivers by bridges, and preparing for the inevitable winter snows. It is no less than the truth that, in the sober judgment of subsequent generations, these men risked their fortunes, and incurred the risk of ignominy.

That they succeeded is only to their credit, and he is a shallow philosopher who in this day withholds any of the credit due to that extraordinary courage and intellectual foresight which led to the results they accomplished.

The four men mentioned not only became multi-millionaires, but they had many honors thrust upon them. One of the fortunes acquired endowed Leland Stanford Junior University, and many of the Hearst millions have been given to the University of California. The pioneers undertook what so many refused, and the result was to them only profit where, in many other cases, it would have meant oblivion. These men are mentioned because they have been more in the public eye, and because they carried on their own shoulders burdens which, in similar cases in Eastern operations, were more widely distributed. Consider, for a moment, the problem of constructing a thousand miles of railway from San Francisco eastward in the middle sixties. Where the labor? Whence the rails? Where the locomotives? The labor had to come largely from China and its importation brought up a new question in American history. The rails came largely from England and had to be imported thousands of miles around Cape Horn. The locomotives arrived by the same long journey. Think of people well up in the Arctic zone building a railway, and it compares with the problem confronting the few Californians in the early sixties.

Under extraordinary difficulties, discouragements, and local opposition the men we have named managed to carry through what up to that time was the greatest engineering enterprise in the world. Any moral considerations involved are transferred to a court beyond human consideration. These men not only built the line over mountain passes, through ranges, and across lava deserts, but afterward they and their successors extended the system until now it is one of the largest in the world. Although one-half of the lands in every twenty-mile strip went to the railways, yet without the railway the remaining half was not and never would

have been worth any valuable consideration. It was a cheap way of making money for the government to give away one-half of the lands, even when building the railway at the same time. The nation has been the gainer in a thousand ways, but it has made money actually on its books, whereas the only similar work in recent years, that of the Siberian railways, shows an immense deficit.

Strangely enough, the construction of the eastern section of the road was more difficult to get under way. Men on the Atlantic coast had not the glorious gift of imagination which distinguished their brothers on the Pacific. They could not see the imperious necessity for the link between the two seas. In fact, the enterprise nearly failed, and would have done so but for the energy of men who afterward came under a cloud. There was plenty of room in normal enterprises in the East for all the money and energy that were available, not only during the War, but immediately afterward. It so happened that the problem of constructing the Union Pacific appealed to the imagination of two hard-headed Yankees who had made money in the very prosaic business of manufacturing spades, shovels, and other agricultural implements. These men had supplied their products to farmers throughout the country, and to the other Americas before the War; they had made the implements which dug the first gold from California and had furnished the rapid breastworks so familiar in our armies for the first time in the history of warfare. These men had made large fortunes, according to the modest estimates of their day, but Oliver and Oakes Ames—who are the men to whom we refer—were simple manufacturers of the old type when the suggestion of constructing the Union Pacific was put before them. Naturally it must have had some interest, as construction work was in the line of their enterprise. Nevertheless, they had the utmost difficulty in interesting either local or foreign capital until they had applied three times to Congress and had finally received the immense largess already mentioned to undertake the

work. The first efforts at construction west from Omaha were not entirely successful. The expense was large, perils from Indians were constant, and the public belief in the profit of the enterprise was very small. It was this that had called for the extension of the largess from the one hundredth meridian back to the Missouri, at Omaha, though that was not the original terminus agreed upon.

It was soon found, however, that all plans broke down under the old system of a company doing its own construction work, and paying for it by cash received from the sale of stocks and bonds. In this dilemma some light was borne in by the fact that the French people had carried out great enterprises through the medium of construction companies, in which the work, as a whole, was contracted to those who were largely interested in the management. At the time this was looked upon as the essential solution of the problem, though an act of doubtful morality. It would be more proper to say that it later came to be looked upon as such. The actual problem was one of doing something under conditions that promised success. To a generation that thinks of George Francis Train as only a harmless lunatic, it may seem strange to recall that his energetic participation was of prime importance in the construction of the Union Pacific. He had made a fortune in the clipper ships which made American vessels famous, and with foresight had looked upon Omaha as the key to the transcontinental railway situation. He was closely interested in getting the construction company's charter, and wrote a very naïve account of the affair. The State of Pennsylvania at that time had the reputation, to which New Jersey has succeeded of late years, of giving charters through its legislature with liberality, not to say prodigality. Under the Federal Constitution every State is obliged to give full credit to the acts of all the other States; it is of more than passing interest that many corporations in the country are now acting under State charters granted before the movement against such liberality gained force.

There was a charter granted by the legislature of Pennsylvania for the purpose of constructing railroads and doing almost anything else excepting coining money and committing acts of immorality, which, according to Train, cost the "enormous" sum of five hundred dollars, or about ten times the usual lobby expense for such documents. This was transferred to the Ames Brothers and their associates, and the name of the charter company changed to correspond to that of a French corporation which had been very successful. By a contract made with the Union Pacific, the Credit Mobilier was to do the work for a certain price and receive first mortgage bonds, stocks, and second mortgage bonds, and liberal allowances, which proved sufficient to make a very large profit on actual construction. The Credit Mobilier was simply a construction company.

In these days we can freely say that such a bargain was corrupt, since it was made between the right and the left hand. Yet, it seems certain that the road would not have been built for years without an arrangement of this sort. In view of subsequent history, it is easy to know that the actual cost of the construction of the road was not greater than the government loan and land grant. It is quite possible that the originators of the road expected that sooner or later the government would abandon all its claims. This was not done, though repayment was deferred for many years. The result was that Credit Mobilier shares were easily disposed of, and in the end proved a profitable investment. At the same time, the effort was made to float the regular shares of the company. The belief of the Ames brothers and their associates in the success of the enterprise was unbounded, and very properly so after all the aid which had been given. Oakes Ames was a member of Congress, and out of his relations with some members of Congress came the so-called Credit Mobilier scandal. It was charged that he credited certain members of Congress with shares of stock in this concern without requiring payment, that he paid them dividends on the stock, and in some cases sold

the stock at a profit, which was credited to them, just as brokers do every day in the year and in thousands of cases.

The charges in this connection came at a time when there was much suspicion against public men. The result is interesting. Those who acknowledged the truth of the charge and explained in a perfectly straightforward way what they had done had no difficulty in remaining in public life. Those who insisted that the records of Ames were a lie and denied having had anything to do with the corporation were not always so fortunate. After the most complete investigation, Ames was censured by Congress. It was considered that he had been indiscreet at a time when public men should have been above suspicion. Soon afterward he died, a broken-hearted man. It can be said that posterity has absolved him from any attempt to bribe congressmen, since the sums that figured in the investigation were out of all proportion to the interests involved.

Practically, the Credit Mobilier was a success. It undertook the work of construction in earnest, and the rivalry with the Central Pacific people which soon followed brought out all the best energies of the American people. The eastern portion of the work was comparatively easy; and in the rush to establish mileage, get the grants of land and money, and reach toward the mountains, little attention was at first paid to the roadbed, which often was the virgin prairie, upon which ties were placed and the track was laid under the vigorous direction of General "Jack" Casement, one of the able officers of the Federal army in the recent volunteer service. The hill section was more difficult; and when the mountains were reached, engineering problems, considered of enormous proportions at that time, were solved in record time. Often, in the mad rush to force construction toward the junction point, there was no wait for tunnels, and at times it took a small army to protect the track. For, be it remembered, the aborigines looked with little favor upon a process which they were astute enough to see

meant the destruction of the buffalo—the prime necessity of life in the country west of the Mississippi.

When the original Argonauts moved west in 1849, and for a year or two later, the Indians had watched the overland trains with wonder and surprise, but without molestation. It was not until it became certain that their territory was to be permanently invaded that the tribes north and south began that series of campaigns which involved so many tragedies and ended in white supremacy after two generations had passed.

The outbreak of the Sioux in Minnesota during the Civil War had caused much excitement. It was charged that there was some sort of understanding between the Mormons and the Indians of the Wyoming region, by which the whites were to be extirpated; while in the south there was more or less constant warfare, along the borders of the Santa Fé trail. From the Missouri to the Pacific, before the War, there was erected a chain of military posts to protect travellers; and in some of the outposts there were harrowing incidents, which bulked large in the imagination of the people because of the heroism and the tragedies involved, but which were scarcely war in the true sense of the term.

The Indian had the courage of his convictions, and in the early stages of construction on the Union Pacific there was constant warfare, in which many lives were lost on both sides, but which may be said to have for the moment culminated in the Modoc War, of which more hereafter.

The race of the rival companies for the junction ended at Promontory Point, Utah, May 10, 1869, after practically only three years of construction work, which not long previously had been expected to consume the labor of more than a generation. The ceremonies attending the completion were elaborate and formal, and aroused the greatest enthusiasm over all the country. Eastern cities were ablaze with light, and it was generally felt that, next to putting down the Rebellion, the completion of the transcontinental

road was the greatest national achievement. It correlated the interests of the country.

The results were happy except from a speculative point of view. The lines of the railways were thronged with homestead seekers; and through the railways, including a number of branches not necessary to enumerate, men made money by the sale of lands, and the government also profited because it secured the settlement on its own lands of an enormous number of thrifty and hard-working people. It was not long before it was seen that the road was over-capitalized; that enormous profits had been made in its construction; that further enormous sums were necessary not only to put the road in good physical condition, but to contribute to its traffic by the construction of needed branches. There were many ups and downs in the history of the Union and Central Pacific Companies, and not all are pleasant reading. They present some of the worst phases of American speculative financing. Fortunes were made and lost, not only in the ordinary course of investment, but, as was generally believed, by manipulation on the part of those in control, until finally a better state of affairs was insisted on. As has been said, the government was repaid and the companies are now consolidated and highly prosperous. It is of more than passing interest that the controlling company is the direct successor of that organized by the Western men, who showed courage and daring beyond their associates in the East.

With rather unnecessary prodigality, Congress chartered other roads in the West which were feeders or in some sense rivals of the original line, and most of these were eventually constructed, although some of the land grants lapsed. Congress made a number of extensions which provoked scandals, but it can be said that the nation generally approved anything that would open up the desert country to settlement. Subsequently such grants ceased.

At a time when there was so much excitement over politics, and people North and South were almost at daggers

drawn and were accusing each other of being false at heart and false in head as well as wicked in action; when in the North the two great political parties were not only virulently opposed to each other, but when the dominant party was split into two factions of extraordinary fighting qualities,—under such circumstances the fierce light which beats upon the man in public life shone with abnormal intensity and at times distorted the truth. Mental vision was apt to be obscured by prejudice and passion. And so, admitting that there were scandals connected with the construction of the Pacific railways, that enormous fortunes were made, and that the latter were not at all times wisely administered, the indubitable fact remains that they were worth to the nation many times what they cost; that without them the United States would have lagged far behind its actual pace in progress, and that it is not human to expect enterprises of such great pith and moment to be undertaken without the prospect of commensurate reward. Nearly all the men who were prominent in constructing the two roads that formed the line to the Pacific died during the nineteenth century. All suffered more or less from public criticism, yet it is probably fair to say that even at this day they are remembered for their achievements, and that the people hold them in admiration rather than blame.

They were the pioneers who made possible so many subsequent enterprises, and who have made the United States a byword for energy.



CHAPTER VI

JAY COOKE'S FAILURE AND THE PANIC OF 1873

THE happy results, viewed from the standpoint of success, which attended the first transcontinental railway were, unfortunately, not fully repeated in the second. The Northern Pacific Railway was chartered by Congress about the time that the second bill passed for the Union Central route. The new enterprise was backed largely by Jay Cooke, the Philadelphia banker, who had floated with extraordinary success most of the government loans during the War. The charter was liberal and the land grant immense, but there was no money subsidy.

Considering that a few years before people had laughed at the possibility of constructing even one line to the Pacific, it seemed rather useless to parallel the achievement, especially in a region that was then said to be little adapted to agriculture. But Congress rather lavishly endowed this second effort, and when the first had been brought to a successful conclusion with such éclat and unbounded enthusiasm, it seemed likely that the public would assist in the Northern Pacific. Cooke depended very largely upon foreign bankers, especially those with whom he had had such pleasant relations during the War, and who had made vast sums through the rise of government bonds due to the successful conclusion of the contest. A delegation of these bankers visited America, and after a journey through the Northwest returned enthusiastic over the prospect of that

section. An agreement was made to take an enormous amount in bonds of the new company, and the contract was written out and came near being signed. For some reason that formality was postponed, and in the meantime came the announcement of war between France and Prussia in 1871. This ended all negotiations, since the foreign bankers knew too well that they would have abundant use at home for all the money they could command, and so in a single night the hopes of Cooke were blasted.

Cooke, however, was not to be crushed by a single failure of his plans. Believing in his project, he endeavored to carry it on with domestic capital. This he found difficult from the start, although the great prestige of his name brought him some financial support. At almost any other time it seems likely that he could have succeeded in his enterprise without great difficulty. The country was, however, in the condition called by Grant a "state of fictitious prosperity." The fact has already been mentioned that immediately after the War the wildest speculation followed in nearly every part of the country. Millions were put into all sorts of enterprises. Railway construction had proceeded at a rapid rate, and had involved enormous sums of domestic as well as foreign capital. Not all the railroads were successful for the time, some were even operated at a loss. Some manufacturing enterprises failed for want of proper management, foresight, or because they had no legitimate reason for existence. Still, for some years it seemed as if the country was never to halt in its prosperous career. Money was made and lost with perfect abandon by men who were millionaires to-day, paupers to-morrow, and rich again soon. Speculation in oil reached an extraordinary point, but owing to the prodigality of nature, the rivalries of different interests, and, as is generally believed, improper relations between the largest producers and refiners and the transportation interests, the whole industry was soon thrown into a state of chaos. Losses were enormous, and before business settled down to normal limits untold millions had

been invested by the public in unremunerative ventures, entailing much distress in many parts of the country.

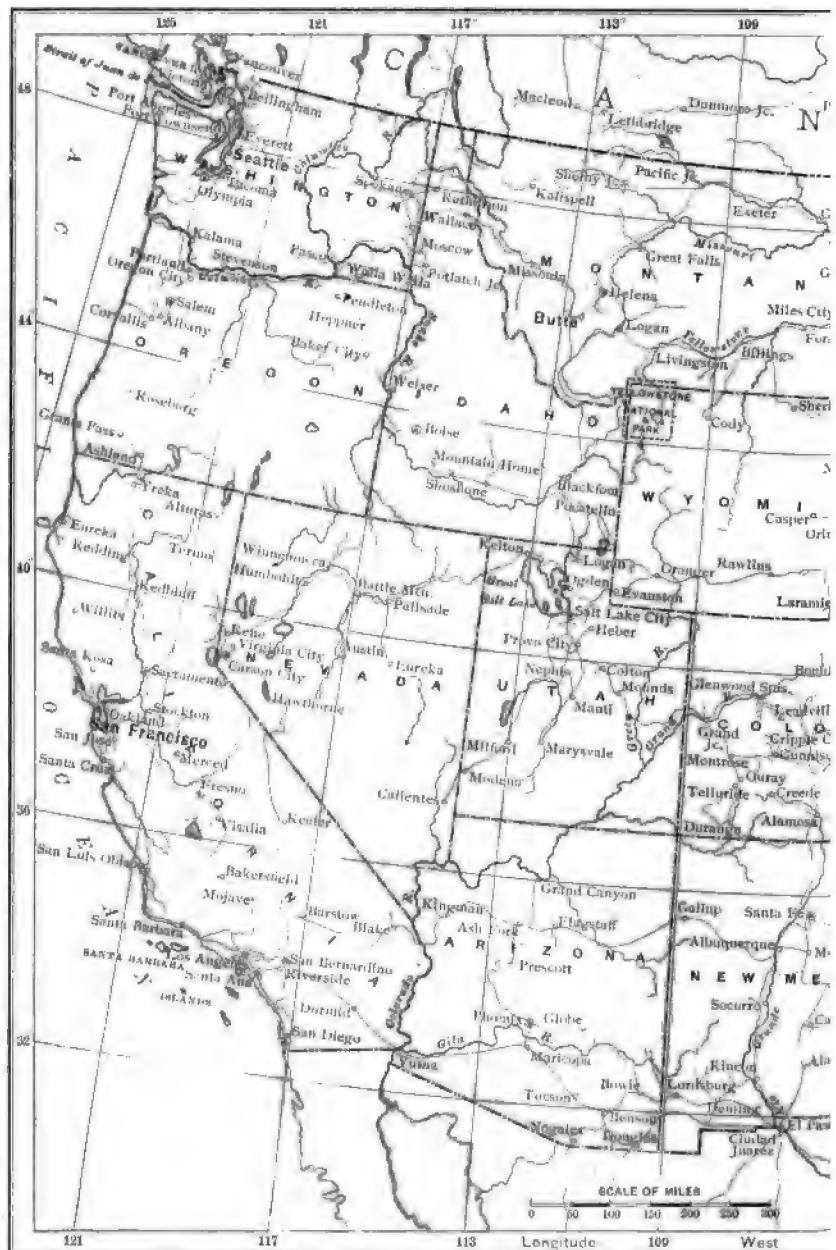
The Gold Conspiracy resulting in Black Friday, which will be described later, had also a note of warning for those who would read while they ran. It showed how false was the speculative fever, how easily manipulation could affect values, and how unsubstantial was much of the vast nominal wealth of the country. It is true that at this time the undeveloped resources of the country were beginning to be appreciated, and that every prediction of that age has been more than fulfilled. The fault lay in the eagerness with which the public mortgaged the future. Lands were bought and sold on a small margin of cash at constantly increasing prices all over the country. Great cities were projected in the West, and really worthless lots were sold for high prices.

The crisis came when so much of the country's surplus wealth was tied up in unproductive enterprises, and when, with nearly everyone in debt, the settling process was forced because expansion had for the time reached its limit. It is a very common notion that the failure of Jay Cooke actually precipitated the panic of 1873. This is confusing an incident with a cause. It is true that the banking house of Jay Cooke and Company had greatly extended its credits and was putting forth every energy in order to push forward the Northern Pacific. But nothing had been done beyond normal banking business, and under ordinary circumstances there would have been a triumphant success. Once more foreigners had become interested in the enterprise, and their agents were in the far West looking over the situation with a view to investing in the bonds of the company, and in the enormous land grant. Hard-headed Germans and Hollanders saw that those rich lands were one day to teem with population, and they were so anxious to assure themselves of the vast extent of the fertile prairies that they had driven from St. Paul far west into the Indian country to be certain that the investment would be a good one. They returned from this long trip very late one night and

had resolved upon large investments, all unconscious that already the house of Jay Cooke and Company was down.

The panic of 1873 was a legitimate result of over-speculation, over-enthusiasm, and over-indebtedness. The amount of currency in the country was insufficient for the inflated burden. No matter what the limit of currency, under the excitement of the period it would soon have been exhausted. The bubble of inflation and debt based on mere prospects burst simply from economic causes. Preliminary failures of banking institutions had caused some anxiety, but when on September 18th demands were made on the house of Jay Cooke and Company which were beyond its ability to meet, there was no other course than suspension. Yet there was a temporary resource which Cooke did not mention for many years. On that fatal morning he received a draft for one million dollars for investment in one of his enterprises. That sum would have carried him through the day, and might under normal conditions have carried him through entirely, but Cooke was now convinced that a storm was coming. He could not feel sure that he would be able to weather the storm, and so he returned the draft, closed the doors of his banking house, sent all his clerks home, and for one hour communed with himself. It was an hour of agony, but he left for home determined to renew the struggle, to pay his debts, to see the Northern Pacific completed, and to recoup the losses of all who would or could follow his advice. In this he succeeded in every detail, surviving the incident more than thirty years, and dying one of the most honored of Americans.

Although the failure of Cooke was not a primary cause, it served to start the crisis. The next day the panic was on in earnest. House after house in the financial districts of all the cities went down amid scenes of wildest excitement, to be followed throughout the country by mercantile failures, railway receiverships, and personal bankruptcies without number. There have been many financial crises in America, but never one which more thoroughly deserves the



Map showing the railroads in the w

took their success altogether in the proper spirit. It was true that their victory had been unexpectedly large, but they seemed to have forgotten the almost universal law in all popular governments, that hard times means a political victory for the opposition.

Nothing seemed more auspicious for the party or the country than the occasion of Grant's second inauguration. He spoke briefly and well, and the country seemed satisfied to let political differences drop for the moment. The government finances were in good condition. Secretary Boutwell had refunded a large portion of the debt at a lower rate of interest, the principal was constantly being reduced, and the Federal income was increasing in spite of reductions in taxation. Grant's new Cabinet underwent one change, due to the retirement of Boutwell, who was succeeded by W. A. Richardson, of Massachusetts, who in turn, the next year, gave way to Benjamin H. Bristow, of Kentucky. Before long there were changes in other departments, but Fish remained in the State Department to the end of the term, as did Robeson in the Navy.

The closing hours of the Forty-second Congress were exciting because of the relief which the party in power felt over the elections of 1872 and of a freedom from restraint which led to the most unfortunate consequences. It had long been complained that the chief public servants of the country had too little compensation. The president received only twenty-five thousand dollars a year, a sum notoriously inadequate, considering that he had to pay all his expenses. The judges of the Supreme Bench were ill paid, in view of the qualifications they must possess. Few were the Cabinet ministers who did not draw heavily on their own resources to keep up a style of living commensurate with the dignity of their position. There were many other instances of the sort, but, in the minds of congressmen, the one most important was their own poor pay. They received five thousand dollars a year, and, considering the high prices of the necessities of life, and the demands incumbent on their

position, only a man of means could expect to remain long in Congress, unless he had exceptional abilities which so distinguished him that he was relieved from the necessity of heavy campaign payments and of entertaining at Washington.

The decision to remedy this condition of affairs was entirely proper. Under the provision of an appropriation bill, salaries in many departments of the Federal civil service were enlarged, though in no case to what would seem to be an adequate compensation. The salaries of congressmen were increased to seven thousand five hundred dollars a year, and against this nothing in fairness could be said, though wiser heads foretold that it would bring obloquy upon the members receiving it. The crowning act of folly was that this bill made all the salaries retroactive for two years, amounting in effect to presenting each member of Congress with five thousand dollars out of the public treasury. In vain did some of the leading men in Congress protest against this unprecedented course. Speaker Blaine managed by a parliamentary trick to make the increased pay of the Speaker prospective only, and thus escaped future obloquy. As the end of the session was approaching, and this legislation as to salary increase was embodied in an appropriation bill, it was evident either that there must be a new session or submission to the "salary grab." In this dilemma many members, to their future sorrow, voted for the bill, though with mental reservation. And when the storm of popular disapproval burst, some of them returned the extra five thousand dollars to the treasury.

It is evident that the majority were not close students of history, or they would have remembered that, almost sixty years before, the people of this nation, who had borne with singular fortitude all the disasters and ruin during the Embargo and the second war with Great Britain, were roused to fury by the passage of a law allowing congressmen fifteen hundred dollars a year for their total compensation, instead of the previous per diem allowance. Some of the ablest

members of Congress in that day lost their seats; while Henry Clay, for the only time in his life, had to stump his own district, apologizing for his course and begging for votes.

This situation was to be almost exactly repeated in 1874. It is true that the later panic had much to do with popular discontent, that, under the hard times, the debt increased somewhat, the revenue languished, and dissatisfaction was general. Still, in the campaign of 1874 the "Salary Grab" became one of the most vital issues. It was used with decided effect by the Democratic party, because there was practically no defence possible for those who had kept the money. A few members were in districts where in any event they were safe. Many apologized, a few were defiant, but surely all were repentant. The result of the elections fairly took away the breath of the Republicans. In the House of Representatives of the Forty-third Congress they had one hundred and ninety-four members, the Democrats ninety-two, while fourteen were classed as independent. The Republicans could generally count on one hundred majority. In the elections to the Forty-fourth Congress there were returned one hundred and sixty-eight Democrats and one hundred and seven Republicans. The blow was unexpectedly severe, for, although losses had been looked for, not even the Democrats expected to carry the House, or at least by such a substantial majority, and at the same time make such gains in the State legislatures as to pave the way for a speedy Democratic control of the Senate.

The result was also partially due to troubles connected directly with the executive department. For a long time there had been complaint of the manner in which the Treasury Department was administered, especially in the internal revenue bureau. A contract made by the treasury for the collection of certain claims on a fifty per cent commission netted Sanborn, the agent, two hundred thousand dollars in two years; and though the contract was legal, it was considered unnecessarily liberal in terms, and objurgation

was levelled chiefly against the action of the authorities, which helped the contractor rather than the regular salaried agents of the government engaged in a similar work.

The storm that broke over the party did not come without warning from some of the most eminent men in the North, but most of these had been leaders in the Liberal Republican movement, and their voice was unheeded. Some of these men had returned to party allegiance, and some remained forever in the Democratic party. The personal advisers of the president were naturally elated over his success in 1872, and they managed to play upon his prejudices, while adroit advantage was taken of his taciturnity, of his desire for exclusiveness, to keep his ear from some of the wise and good men of the party, who would have told him the truth.

That Grant at times did show a vindictive spirit is unquestionable, but in nearly every case it was because he believed that an assault had been made upon his personal integrity or upon that of some member of his family. Elsewhere it is related how early in his administration he came near being unwarily immeshed in the Black Friday scandal, and the result was to make him more cautious in seeking new friends, and to give more arrogance to those who surrounded him. It fell out, however, that what had been to him the most important public friendship of his life, that of Washburne, of Illinois, was destined to be broken for reasons which both regretted later, and which do not seem to have been entirely the fault of either. When Grant was a colonel, faithful to his duty, it was Washburne who succeeded in having him made a brigadier. It would be unwise to say that any man made Grant, but it is certain that he owed much of the speedy rise in his fortunes to the kindness of Washburne who then scarcely knew him, and it was he who later on led in reviving the grade of lieutenant-general for Grant's benefit.

It was felt in 1869 by many who were the closest friends of Grant, as well as his warmest admirers, that the death of

Rawlins was the hardest blow which could possibly have happened to Grant's success in politics. Rawlins was the exact opposite of Grant in temperament, and he was experienced in contact with men. Had he lived it is certain that Grant would not have become so much the prey of unscrupulous men. There is no desire to disparage the judgment of a later date concerning Grant. It seems undoubted that he was never so well fitted for the presidency as at the time when he was pushed forward for a third term. Nor can it be said that he was by any means a failure as an executive. He was, within his limitations, bold and honest, but he was, at the first, without great political experience, and, in the course of events, was called upon to act when he was sure to receive blame, whatever he did.

In later years, Grant would have appreciated criticism of himself and his acts in a very different spirit from that which he showed earlier. He had been honest according to his lights, and was as determined as any patriot to see that the laws were executed. He was destined to see his second administration, which opened so auspiciously, go down in a storm of criticism.

It is not pertinent to this narrative to tell of the troubles in the South,—how the whites would not submit to the domination of the blacks and of the various difficulties which ensued. It is too much the tendency of the present generation to assume that all the right was on one side in that controversy. As in most instances there was probably a division of right and wrong, and it should be again remembered that in those days temperament and passion counted for more than academic principle.

In Louisiana, however, the situation was different from that in most of the Southern States and led to amazing results. The Republican party was called upon to defend many things in the South which seemed to them entirely proper; but there is no doubt that for some years the Louisiana situation was the critical one, in which there was so

much of fraud on every side that in the light of all contemporaneous history and subsequent investigations it is impossible to apportion the blame. Disputes over the returns in 1872 and in 1874 resulted in conditions which were of momentous importance when the contested presidential election of 1876 (to be later described) was involved, and in view of all conditions it can be said that many leading Republicans were disgusted with the situation in Louisiana and really expected that the vote of the State would be cast by the Electoral Commission for Tilden. And among those who thus inclined was President Grant.

However, Grant soon had troubles nearer at hand to give him anxiety. The Whiskey Ring scandal, the Belknap and others charges, made it important to get his own house in order as soon as possible. The Whiskey Ring appears to have been an unhealthy outgrowth of practical politics. The internal revenue receipts were the chief reliance of the government at this time and the whiskey tax was important. When the Liberal Republican movement first started the regular Republicans felt it necessary to arrange for a vigorous campaign. Deserted by some of the most prominent men in the party, organization was effected in a very substantial manner throughout the country at a considerable expense. This involved a very large sum of money for those times, and in that day there was not so much liberality in giving to party funds as was later the case. It is not worth while to go into all the details of this matter, but it is a fact that beginning in St. Louis and spreading to the principal whiskey distilling centres of the country a collection was taken up by distillers and rectifiers for the benefit of the local Republican leaders. It is not necessary to suppose that all contributors expected protection or that they were all venal, but the fact is that in a short time there was an organization, including many distillers, which had for its purpose protection against paying tax. By means of an utterly unauthorized conspiracy with gaugers, collectors, and some officials higher in the Treasury

Department at Washington, much of the whiskey that was distilled escaped payment. The total government loss is estimated at some four million dollars.

It was impossible that such a condition could long exist without becoming known. As the tax on whiskey was the largest element in the cost price, those who were not in the ring found, before long, that they were meeting a competition that was unfair.

When Bristow came to the treasury the matter was brought to his attention. He was from Kentucky, where many distilling interests were located, and no sooner had he learned about the matter, through publications in St. Louis newspapers, than he proceeded to investigate in a way that kept the distillers off their guard until the last moment. He secured the services of a St. Louis newspaper man, who conducted his investigations on the basis of collecting information for a local trade publication. He secured data of many kinds, all of which bore on the subject, though nothing of the sort was apparent on its face. He was not long in finding out that the collection of revenue bore no just proportion to the whiskey that was being produced. Similar investigations were made in Milwaukee, Peoria, and Louisville, and, when reported to the Department, preparations were made for arresting the offenders. At the last moment, some idea of the situation leaked out, but it did no good to the offenders. Many persons were arrested, and some pleaded guilty or were convicted on trial. In this matter the president acted with characteristic firmness. "Let no guilty man escape," he wrote when it seemed that his private secretary might be involved. As a fact, this secretary escaped conviction, though there was a suspicion that he managed to bring influence to bear to escape without a fair trial. The result was anything but favorable to the administration, and gave great encouragement to the Democratic party, which hoped to win in the coming presidential election.

The Secretary of War, Belknap, was also involved in a scandal growing out of the charge that he was corruptly

interested in Indian contracts. He was impeached, but, having been permitted to resign, the Senate did not convict him on trial. These matters were much in the public mind, and confirmed many of the Liberal Republicans in their opposition to the administration. It was thought by many that the party was utterly corrupt, and not a few insisted that the president was privy to the steals, even if he were not directly interested. Time has changed such opinion, but opprobrium lasted until a third term was, in any event, made impossible. It had never been probable.

When the question of the succession to Grant arose there were many candidates. James G. Blaine was clearly in the lead. Although he had passed through the fire of criticism concerning his relation to matters financial in which Congress had an interest, he was accused of acting as agent for selling bonds of a land grant railroad. This he never denied.

It so happened that it was deemed by him unnecessary to make a complete statement at the time that the charges were first made, since, to do so, would involve his confessing the position of a broker; not that this was necessarily to his discredit, but that he had no wish to let his friends who had invested believe that he had potential profits in the enterprise. As it turned out, he made no money at all, but rather lost by his interest in the subject. Having quarrelled with his former business partner, letters were produced, which, on their face, seemed to indicate that Blaine had been conducting negotiations on the basis of using his position as Speaker of the House to forward them. In these days, the matter has been pretty well sifted, and the worst asserted is that Blaine was indiscreet, and that he showed an extraordinary lack of common sense in conducting his correspondence. As a member of Congress, he was obliged to increase his income in some way to meet his obligations, and it cannot be asserted that he acted corruptly, but he was living in a peculiar age, and his business capability seems never to have been distinguished.

He was assailed on the floor of the House, and made a defence which was for the most part satisfactory. As a presidential candidate he had not only the support of many Republicans, but, until shortly before the convention, was exceedingly popular with the Democrats. He lost much of the conservative Democratic support accorded him because he, on one occasion, made a forceful attack on the Confederacy and all its works at a time when an amnesty bill was before the House.

This speech was entirely out of accord with his usual position toward matters affecting the Civil War. He had been liberal and even generous, but on this occasion he attacked the South in unmeasured terms. It made him friends among the radicals of the North, but probably injured his general influence as a statesman and as a candidate.

The Republican convention of 1876 met in Cincinnati on June 14th, with Blaine as the leading candidate. There never was a time when he did not command the real support of a majority of the delegates, and it is a curious fact that, first and last, a majority voted for him, but never all on the same ballot.

There had been a good deal of talk about a third term for Grant, but it was not brought to an issue. Some persons considered Grant equivocal on the point because he said that he did not want a third term any more than he wanted the first. At any rate, he did not figure in the convention of 1876. After Blaine the leading candidates were Senator Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana, Secretary Bristow,—much against the wish of Grant,—Roscoe Conkling, Governor Hartranft, of Pennsylvania, and several others of lesser fame, including Governor Hayes, of Ohio, who was not at first seriously considered.

It was soon shown that of the recognized candidates Blaine was far in the lead, and it is one of the surprising facts in history that he was not nominated. Political manipulation beat him as it did Henry Clay at Harrisburg in 1839. The candidature of Hartranft was soon found to be an

impossibility, and the leaders of the Pennsylvania delegation were determined to hold the forces in hand ready for any deal that might come along. Most of the Pennsylvanians were for Blaine, and a break to him by their delegation would at any time have secured his nomination. To prevent this, one of Senator J. Donald Cameron's astute lieutenants secured the passage of a resolution by the delegation declaring for Hartranft as long as his vote should increase on each ballot. In order to insure this increase, relations were established with some Southern delegates so that Hartranft, who never had a show of success, actually received an increasing vote, and the vote of Pennsylvania was cast steadily for him at a time when its delegates were anxious to vote for Blaine.

On the seventh ballot Governor Hayes was nominated as a compromise candidate, though without much enthusiasm on any side. Hayes had served with credit in the War, and was now in his third term as Governor of Ohio. His nomination was that of a dark horse, and the country could not grasp the situation for some time. It ought to be mentioned that the Sunday before the convention met, Blaine suffered a sunstroke on his way to church. The accident hurt his chances for the nomination, as many feared to nominate a man who might die in office. As a fact, Blaine long survived what would have been his term had he been nominated and elected. The convention was notable in one respect. Blaine was nominated by Robert G. Ingersoll, in a speech that is conceded to have been the greatest effort of the sort in political history. It was in this that Blaine was dubbed by Ingersoll the "Plumed Knight," a sobriquet that lasted until his death. William A. Wheeler, of New York, was nominated for vice-president without a contest.

The Democratic convention met in St. Louis on June 29th, and, almost without a struggle, nominated Samuel J. Tilden, of New York. His only competitor of any strength was Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, who was given

second honors. Tilden, as the reform Governor of New York and foe of Tweed, had a strong following in the country even among former Republicans.

It is hard to say exactly what were the issues which affected the voters in this campaign. The Republican platform upheld all the party doctrines and practices, except as to giving land grants to railways, and promised reforms and economy. The Democratic platform was given up principally to a denunciation of the Republican party and demanded all sorts of reforms, particularly of the tariff, though it cannot be said that this question was yet a direct party issue.

The campaign was one of the most exciting in the history of the country. The Southern States which were expected to be Republican soon gave evidence that the expectation was not to be relied on. It ought to be said in all candor that the people of the reconstructed States were determined by fair means or foul to reestablish white rule. They said so at the time in private, and the South has since continued to say so. They had no intention of remaining either under negro rule or under the rule of "carpet-baggers" who had gotten into power by the negro vote. It was not in human nature to expect that the whites would submit to negro rule. It is rather unfortunate that Democratic claims on this subject in public were not the same as in private so that history does not have a perfectly clear record.

So long as Federal troops were stationed in the South there was a certain amount of fear on the part of the whites, and the latter had to work with a great deal of discretion to accomplish their purposes. Many people of the South were interested less in the national election than in local control of their States, and it is probable that on both sides no possible chance to accomplish results was left unacted upon. The result was curiously enough decided in advance by the admission of Colorado as a State. The delegate in the House was a Democrat, and he assured

his fellow members that the State would go Democratic and thus help the party. On this assurance, and under no other consideration, a law was passed for the admission of what came to be known as the Centennial State. It was arranged beforehand that the legislature should choose the presidential electors, to save the trouble and expense of an election in the fall. Contrary to every expectation, the State went overwhelmingly Republican and the legislature chose three electors for Hayes. But for this first error of the Democratic leaders Tilden would have been chosen without a contest, but there were, as we shall see, other errors made later.

CHAPTER VII

THE CENTENNIAL AND OTHER EXPOSITIONS

THE one hundredth anniversary of American independence was notable in many ways, and particularly for the International Exhibition held at Philadelphia. This exposition, which is popularly known as the Centennial Exposition, was of such far-reaching importance in the social, industrial, and artistic development of the country that it marks the beginning of a new era. It is because of this fact that it will be considered at some length in this place, and to be properly understood it must be studied in connection with others which have followed. All these expositions or world's fairs have been sources of inspiration in many ways, and, taken together, have given rise to many important national impulses. They have been object lessons of much more value than has been apparent to most visitors.

The Centennial Exposition was the first large display held in America, and rivalled all which had preceded it in Europe. Coming so soon after the panic of 1873, it was all the more creditable that the nation was able to make such a showing, though its importance was not so much in the presentation of what had been accomplished in the United States as the revelation of the Old World to the New.

This exposition was in its origin a local enterprise of Philadelphia, though under national auspices. The government made a loan, which was repaid, but otherwise the capital necessary was raised by the city (totalling some seven million dollars, in addition to private investment), the

State, and individual largess. In size, attendance, and importance the Centennial far exceeded any similar exposition previously held, and in many respects was the most important of all, even taking into consideration those which have followed. It was open from May to November, and the total number of admissions was almost ten million. It is not our purpose to describe the exposition in detail so much as to set forth in some way the effects produced by it and by those which have since been held, and to do this satisfactorily it is necessary to begin with the last of the important ones, that at St. Louis, and consider what all have done for the upbuilding of the nation.

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition, held in St. Louis in 1904, in some respects fell far short of the expectations of its projectors. Not that the financial loss was important—all such undertakings lose money; not that the exposition failed in any sense to represent the material, intellectual, and moral development of the world—in this respect it is unexcelled. It can be admitted at once that in all but one very important respect the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was a success. Millions were spent lavishly, and the assemblage of human products was the greatest and most imposing ever witnessed. The most intelligent visitor could not have thoroughly digested the whole even if he had spent in study every day that the gates were open.

The fundamental difficulty lay in the fact that the exposition was not appreciated, that it seemed to fill no general want of the nation or else a sense of that need was not properly awakened. The nation seemed to have been surfeited with expositions. It failed only as it was not seen.

The figures of attendance reached respectable proportions, though far below the maximum for similar expositions, while the number of unpaid admissions was so large that the real public attendance was not more than seventy per cent of the total. Even if the percentage had been widely distributed territorially, the result would have been better. Figures showing the homes of the visitors to any such

centre of attraction are difficult to obtain with any exactness, but railroad statistics, admissions of officials, as well as the observation of experienced visitors, all point to the fact that although designed as a world's exposition, the St. Louis exposition was in fact altogether too largely a local attraction. Most of the visitors came from St. Louis and its environs. It was evident at any stage of the existence of the exposition that the number of those who came from a distance was comparatively small. It may well be assumed that those in the neighborhood of St. Louis received marvellous intellectual benefits from the exposition—in a large sense worth all the expense, since education, even for a single individual, cannot be measured in terms of money. But that it was a failure as an institution representing a national impulse must sadly be admitted.

The reasons are not far to seek. In the first place, in these days of rapid communication and wonderful development everywhere, an exposition is of less importance than formerly. Even the latest Paris exposition was unquestionably more elaborate and less successful than its predecessors. Every city is a great fair, every department store one in miniature, and a constantly increasing proportion of the people who visit the cities is due partly to the increase of average wealth, and more especially to the extraordinary development of suburban trolley lines.

In the second place, eleven years was too short a time to have elapsed between the expositions at Chicago and St. Louis. The latter lost many thousands of visitors from a distance, simply because they had been at the former city. If a generation had elapsed, the situation would have been vastly different, even though the location was outside the greater line of travel and far beyond the centre of population. Unfortunately, though the exposition at St. Louis was larger and in many respects better than its predecessor, the motive of making the trip was lacking in those who had made sacrifices to see the great White City in 1893. Fundamentally, however, the reason seems to be that the

exposition represented no great national outpouring of sentiment. It did not appeal to the imagination or the patriotic impulse of the people at large. It beckoned with no irresistible force. The Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, on the contrary, typified the closing of an era in national history. The Chicago Columbian Exposition of 1893 represented the opening of an era in the history of the Western World, and exemplified that marvellous development in the arts and sciences which had been achieved in seventeen years very largely under the stimulus of the Centennial. The Buffalo exposition of 1901 was in miniature, but it glorified especially the development of electricity. That at St. Louis had no such significance. The effort to make it glorify the Louisiana Purchase—that marvellous increase of the national domain—was a failure. Since 1803 the nation's borders have been extended beyond the seas, and popular imagination refused to be stirred by memory of the purchase from Napoleon.

Granting, then, that the St. Louis exposition, through no inherent shortcomings, and in spite of its merits, fell far short of accomplishing the good for which it was designed, it remains to consider some of the things it has accomplished and to study it in relation to others. The great value of such an exposition is educational, its contributions to the general culture of the world, and more especially to that of the nation wherein it is held. That expositions have also a commercial value is undoubted. That which cannot be so well attained is a comprehension of the world's progress in the arts and sciences. There is an uplifting which comes from the assemblage of the best of the world's products in a single place that is seldom experienced in other ways. The very mass of exhibits is imposing; and though the mind may become bewildered by their extent and variety, it is impossible to dwell long amid such scenes without being permanently impressed. It is the cultivation of the mind that is important. As a rule, we are too much concerned with our own environment. We think little of the things

beyond our narrow horizon, and are prone to consider that our little world is all.

Probably in no other respect have these expositions done more than in developing the artistic ideas of the people. If the average American home of the late sixties is compared with that of to-day, one is impressed with the contrast, though not apt to ascribe the change to the proper sources. The Centennial Exposition effected almost a complete change in the physical aspects of the American home through the stimulus which came from the first sight of artistic beauty. In 1870 the average home of the prosperous merchant was far less attractive than the home of the average American mechanic to-day. One recalls the dark wall papers, the black walnut and hair-cloth furniture, the sombre hangings, and the general atmosphere of gloom. The parlor contained a stand, embellished with hideous curios; a wax bouquet, covered with glass, was the admiration of all callers; while if there was anything approaching an art object, it was certain to be a "Rogers group," a picture of *Lincoln Signing the Emancipation Proclamation*, or possibly the ubiquitous *From Shore to Shore*. As a rule, the rooms were kept dark, and there was an atmosphere of depression everywhere.

This was due to many causes. At the very period when there was an æsthetic awakening in Teutonic Europe, when Great Britain and Germany were beginning to learn from France and Italy, America was engaged in a civil war which shook the nation to its centre. After that conflict, there was poverty and despair in one section of the country; there was much gloom in the other, due to the losses sustained. When the rebound of business activity came, men devoted most of their energies to accumulating a competence and but little to the fine arts. It was a period when politics engaged all men, when the passions growing out of the War seemed to dominate almost every action of the people. When people accumulated some wealth they seldom had the judgment to make the best use of it. They built hideous houses, adorned with jig-saw trimmings, and

furnished them with all "the sweetness and light" of an undertaker's "parlor."

It was when the nation was in this condition that the splendors of the world in art and color and refinement and beauty burst upon the American people with all the charm and amazement of a revelation. It produced remarkable results. It unmade, and remade homes; it changed the styles of dress; it altered the modes of living. It was for the first time perceived that there was an actual value in beauty, and that so far from the former notion so prevalent that what was delightful must necessarily be bad, it was discovered that men and women were not only happier but better for an appreciation of the beautiful. It was found that cultivation of the mind did not consist alone in reading Emerson and Ruskin, or in looking at a sunset. The gospel of beauty spread rapidly. Millions who attended the Centennial came from the uttermost parts of the country. They returned spreading the good news, and inside of a decade the revolution had been accomplished.

It is true that for a time the results were not all that could be desired. From little use of color the people, without much notion of harmony, began the use of raw colors and all colors in dress and decoration, but they had become emancipated from the older ideas and were willing to learn. The change was noted not only in the cities but in villages and on the farms. Instead of relying upon a few home magazines as the guide, counsellor, and friend in all that pertains to the home, women began to seek new sources of inspiration, adopting new ideas wherever found. The situation gradually improved, and with growing prosperity the country was in an æsthetic sense ripe for the Columbian Exposition of 1893 at Chicago, which was almost as great a revelation as the Centennial.

Here the gospel preached by the exhibits was that of beauty in tints, in soft tones instead of high colors, whether alone or in combinations. There was a notable advance shown in beauty of form. In furniture, silverware, and art

objects generally graceful shapes prevailed rather than the ostentatious forms of a generation before. It is hardly too much to say that there is not a dining-room or a parlor in the country that has not been directly changed in its furnishing through the teaching of the Columbian Exposition. In architecture also lessons were learned which have been progressively fruitful. It was shown that simplicity of outline could be combined with ornate detail so as to make a beautiful and dignified structure without increase of room or cost. The visitors returned to their homes with new ideas, which have been more or less followed since.

In this respect the St. Louis Exposition can hardly be said to have taught new truths so much as to have accentuated the old. The time had been too short to develop either new schools or new thought in art. Still the careful visitor was impressed with the increased refinement which characterized all effort at the beautiful. The color schemes had not changed so much but there had been an increased tendency toward simplicity and elegance. No person could walk through those acres of beautiful objects without feeling a refreshment of spirit and a longing to be ever surrounded with things which embellish life.

If we assign to culture the highest place in these expositions, yet there are other important considerations. The knowledge of how to make things, the unravelling of the mystery of mechanical operations, even the mere sight of enormous engines at work, have not only taken hold of the imagination of the people but have been of great practical importance. When the Centennial was in progress the nation was busily engaged in the manufacture of almost every sort of commodity by the factory system, which had practically driven out individual operations. There was fierce competition over all the country among men who, as a rule, owned their plants and supervised every detail of operation. As practised the system had its economic faults, as wastefulness, ignorance, and incompetence, but it had the merit of drawing forth every effort to produce the cheapest and best

goods in the market. Those who look back to the Centennial probably recall the great Corliss engine as one of its most conspicuous features. It was a marvel of mechanism in that day. Moreover it towered majestically above all the surrounding machinery, a veritable Titan. This type of engines exists no longer; science has reduced the compass of machinery while increasing its efficiency. What made Machinery Hall the most popular building on the grounds was the fact that nearly every machine in it was in operation, turning out the finished product. Machines were simpler then, and the ordinary person could comprehend the process of manufacture more easily than he can now when they are so complicated. These machines not only turned out all sorts of goods, but products were sold or given away to visitors. There are to-day in many thousands of homes throughout the country specimens of jig-saw work, of weaving and the like, which were carried away and hoarded as precious "because I saw it made." There is no doubt that the imagination of the people was greatly stimulated by the sight of this actual production and the fact that so soon afterward there was an enormous increase in useful inventions may be traced to the influence of the Centennial. It will also be remembered that on this occasion three inventions now almost universally used were exhibited practically for the first time. There was the telephone, still in embryo, the typewriter, large and crude, and the electric light. The American people here had their first glimpse at three inventions which in a sense have become social factors of the very first importance, and it is a curious commentary on the popular knowledge of such subjects that thousands of otherwise intelligent persons believed that these were invented during the exposition and imagined that they were its direct growth.

At Chicago there was in this respect an entirely different showing. In volume the machinery exhibits were vastly greater, but they were moved by an unseen power. While a number of the machines were productively operated, many

moved without producing anything, and others were motionless. Those which were in operation were so large and so huddled together that there was not the same impression of a hive of industry as at the Centennial exposition. The ordinary man cannot understand a machine unless he sees it performing its work. For this reason the Machinery Hall at Chicago was seldom crowded, and those who benefited most by it were those directly interested in machinery. By this time, moreover, the whole process of manufacturing was undergoing a change. Individual manufacturers were largely replaced by corporations, small machines by enormous ones. Indeed, all that the ordinary man could do was to gaze in amazement at the complicated structures and marvel that the mind of man had devised them.

At St. Louis the mechanical feature of the exposition was still further emphasized. The corporation had evolved into the trust, and the machinery exhibited was still larger and more complex. In other buildings devoted to varied industries there was in some degree a return to the Centennial method; many small machines were in operation, and these were surrounded by interested visitors. The display of electrical machinery was perhaps the most amazing feature. It seemed difficult to realize that only twenty-eight years had passed since the blue-stone battery was the chief potential force in electricity. As one walked through acres of dynamos and motors of all sorts, and observed the numberless mechanical and other uses to which electricity is put, it seemed as if Aladdin and his lamp had been sent to the realm of the commonplace. But in the mechanic arts the exhibit which appealed most to the imagination, and which was in a sense the most spectacular of all, was the enormous locomotive on a revolving turntable running high in the air at full speed, and yet never progressing an inch. No visitor returned without a vivid impression of this monster "Spirit of the Twentieth Century," which gorgon-like perched high above the observers and seemed about to plunge downward at every second. The remarkable

feature is that it was no new invention, but merely an improvement of one eighty years old and differing from the original in no essential particular. It had an ethical value in showing that in spite of the mighty progress everywhere surrounding the observer, there is also that accumulated heritage of the past which is after all the sure foundation of civilization.

One might dwell with enthusiasm on the wondrous display of electricity at night, but this presented no novel feature. It was simply more extensive, more spectacular, and more beautiful than had been seen before, and its great value was in the constant voice with which it spoke of the future. It is a matter for contemplation that if there is as much progress in electrical invention and discovery in the next twenty-eight years as in the last,—something entirely probable,—our children will live in an age so far removed in its outward manifestations from that of our youth as to amount almost to a complete change.

The section which, perhaps, has been of the greatest interest at expositions in recent years is what may be called the anthropological section—not in the technical sense referring to the very exhaustive and important collections from various museums, but in the living exhibits, as shown on "The Midway" or "The Pike." There has been a tendency on the part of some persons to laugh at these "side-shows," and to consider them a bad feature of an exposition. If this be true, it is a grievous fault, for it is well known that these attract more sightseers than any other section.

There was little suggestion of anthropology in the grounds of the Centennial. There was an immense aggregation of side-shows, which ranged from "the cow with the human arm" and the "world's champion banjo player, Mr. James Bohee" to the cyclorama of "The Siege of Paris," which was a novel spectacle to Americans. Nevertheless, for the most part, there was nothing but an accumulation of freaks and shows such as accompany the circus, though visitors were surprised to see in the grounds some Japanese

visitors, who not only seemed human, but were actually very polite and "seemed almost civilized." Such comments reflected unfavorably upon the average American's knowledge of the Far East.

The real beginning of what may be called the living anthropological section began in Paris in 1889, when there were congregated in the various concessions representatives of almost every civilization on earth. So successful was this beginning that the Chicago exposition included a similar section and displayed the best exhibit that had up to that time been gathered, and it may be doubted whether it has since been equalled. On that occasion representatives of every tribe and nation were grouped and visitors thronged the exhibits; it was not only a personal satisfaction to many, but almost a liberal education, to see the pretty Swiss girls in peasant costume, or to watch the antics of the wild men from Dahomey.

What was undoubtedly a great feature of the St. Louis exposition, one that makes it stand out in many minds definitely and clearly above and beyond everything else, not only in interest but in importance, was the exhibit from the Philippines. Of course, interest was largely stimulated by the recent relations of Americans with the people of the islands; but, in any event, a similar exhibition by a race with which the nation had never been connected in any way whatever must have aroused the greatest interest.

Better than all the many treatises that have been written concerning the people who have fallen to our care was a visit to the various booths, where different tribes were engaged in various occupations. The human exhibits ranged from the breech-clouted Igorrote to the smartly dressed Filipino scouts wearing the American uniform. So far as the native arts were involved, there was much to interest and amuse the observer, but the real exhibits were the various tribesmen themselves.

We have mentioned the major expositions of the country, but there are others of local or sectional character

which have been of undoubted value to the country. A Cotton Exhibition was held in New Orleans in 1884; a Cotton States Exposition, at Atlanta, Georgia, in 1895; one at Omaha, Nebraska, in 1898; one at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1901; and finally, one at Portland, Oregon, in 1905.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HAYES-TILDEN CONTESTED ELECTION

ON the morning of November 8, 1876, the day after the presidential election, the newspapers of the country generally indicated the success of Tilden and Hendricks. The Democratic journals were unanimous in their verdict, giving their candidate a large majority of the electoral college. The Republican journals were naturally much more conservative. Most of them practically conceded the election of Tilden by allowing Hayes and Wheeler a very decided minority and placing many States in the doubtful column; some admitted that the face of the returns was against them, and relied on hope of later changes. Some claimed Hayes's election, without any figures to justify their position; some admitted that it looked like Tilden; but there was only one Republican newspaper—the *New York Times*—that announced the election of Hayes and Wheeler by a majority of one electoral vote, printing a table to prove it. And thereby hangs the most wondrous tale in American political history.

The *Times* had as much interest in the election of Hayes as any other Republican newspaper in the country, but it had gone to press with an edition that gave little satisfaction to the Republicans. Tilden's election was practically conceded. The managing editor, John C. Reid, sat in his chair after midnight, discussing the result with considerable dissatisfaction, when a messenger boy came in with a note. This was before the day when the telephone was in public

use, or the history of the country might have been different in several respects.

The note was from Senator Barnum, former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and at that time chairman of the Executive Committee. The Democratic manager was a personal friend of the editor, and the note asked briefly his news from Florida, South Carolina, Oregon, and Louisiana. That inquiry was made at what, in later days, has been called a "psychological moment."

The editor glanced at his published table and, with a swiftness which did justice to his newspaper education, saw that if the States asked for had gone Republican, Hayes was elected by an electoral vote of one hundred and eighty-six to one hundred and eighty-five. He had supposed three of these States lost to the Republicans, but here was the Democratic manager ignorant of the result. If this were a tale of fiction, the above incident would not be believed, much less the consequences. Notifying Barnum that the States had gone Republican, the editor stopped his presses, which had run off many papers, and got out a new edition, claiming the election of Hayes. His sole basis was that Barnum was in doubt. Leaving the later news to his assistants, Reid rushed to the Fifth Avenue Hotel to see Senator Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan, chairman of the Republican National Committee. That elderly gentleman had gone to bed feeling that he had been badly beaten, but Reid had no hesitancy in arousing him. It so happened that at this juncture there arrived from New Hampshire William E. Chandler, secretary of the Republican National Committee and, later, a senator. The two men called on the aged war-horse, and all power was given into their hands. It was decided to wire the situation at once to Republican managers of doubtful States, ordering them to claim everything and to hold fast, while larger plans were left for the next day.

All Republican newspapers were glad to take the cue from the *New York Times*, and thereafter the claim as to

who were elected was almost entirely on partisan lines. Visiting statesmen began their journeys. President Grant suggested that a few leading Republicans go South to investigate, and Chairman Abram S. Hewitt, of the Democratic National Committee, sent men of his own party to the same centres to look after Tilden's interests. These investigations make a story by itself.

No other political contest in the last forty years equalled this in intensity of partisanship or in the controversies of many kinds which grew out of it. The situation was intensified by the long continuance of the dispute. Bitterness? Intense. Hard language? The very worst between neighbours and former friends. Civil war? That seemed imminent for some time. There were many men on both sides ready to fight; and had not the recollection of the Civil War been so vivid, strife might have ensued. Within one year of his death, Abram S. Hewitt, who was largely responsible for preventing war, wrote, with permission to publish, that military organization had been effected in eleven States, and that a commander-in-chief, a man of national reputation, had been tentatively agreed upon.

The newspaper files of that day are filled with the wildest tales of bribery and corruption attributed in each case to political opponents. Republicans claimed each of the three Southern States in dispute on the ground that the original county returns were in many cases fraudulent, and that the State Returning Boards (all Republican) had the legal right as well as the power to throw out fraudulent returns, which they proceeded to do, changing apparent or alleged Democratic majorities to Republican. The conditions in Florida and South Carolina were unusual, though which side in politics sinned the most or was the most sinned against is a difficult problem. Many conservative persons think the chances of victory in these two States were even, or rather in favor of the Republicans, who had every tactical advantage. There is little claim that a free, full, and fair vote was cast and counted.

In Louisiana the case was different. A large book could be written about Louisiana politics between 1862 and 1874, not to mention the two years following. It was in this State that Lincoln, when a "ten per cent" reconstructed government was set up after Butler's capture of New Orleans, desired to establish his very mild and tentative plan of suffrage for educated blacks. He failed, but after final reconstruction the blacks did most of the voting. Such were the rivalries of the politicians and the thirst for greed that a carnival of political debauchery followed. When a committee of Congress, consisting principally of Republicans, went down to Louisiana in 1874 to investigate, they found that such had been the flagrant debauchery by the contending factions, that they had to report that popular government based on the legal electorate did not exist in Louisiana.

It may be said briefly that in the month before the meeting of Congress in 1876, the stress of the Democratic claim was laid on Louisiana, for the very reason that there was so much evidence of present and past corruption, which Republicans had admitted. It ought also to be said that while the Democratic membership of a later Congressional committee reported in favor of the Tilden electors, the Republican members were of the contrary opinion. One of the most conservative of them said privately at the time that he had no idea of what really had happened at the polls, as there were so many liars and ballot thieves in Louisiana. The vote of the Louisiana Returning Board was offered to friends of Tilden for two hundred thousand dollars. If there had been any certainty of securing the vote the money would possibly have been paid, as it was in hand. Apparently the offer was made solely to justify a demand on the Republicans for a larger sum. So says one Democrat who was concerned in the negotiations.

Congress met early in December, with both parties crying fraud and claiming victory, and neither sure of its claim. The Democrats were flushed with their popular victory.

Grant had been elected so overwhelmingly in 1872, that it had then seemed as if there were no longer a chance for the Democrats. Nevertheless, it has been noted that the House was now in control of their party. Kerr, of Indiana, had been Speaker, but he died during the recess, and Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania, was elected in his place, largely because in the previous Congress he had stood for seventy-two hours at his desk fighting the Force Bill, and had killed it by filibustering rules.

This particular Force Bill had been designed to make all the Southern States Republican by Federal intervention at the presidential election of 1876, and Randall's selection as Speaker was a tribute to the force of character and physical power he had shown in the fight against the bill. It was considered that his record was such that he could be counted upon to sustain the majority of the House in any controversy with the Senate. In 1876 the House chosen was also Democratic, and Tilden electors had popular majorities in the country at large.

The Senate was strongly Republican. Wilson, the vice-president, was dead, and Senator Ferry, of Michigan, was president *pro tem.* The two Houses being of opposite political faith, an extraordinary situation was presented at a critical time.

The Constitution of the United States provides for the manner of electing the president and vice-president, and also for canvassing the vote in the joint session of Congress: "The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted, etc."

This refers to the certificates of votes of electors sent from the various States. The question immediately arose: Who shall count the votes, as provided in the Constitution? Naturally, the Republicans had a ready answer to this question. The vice-president is to open all the certificates and he must therefore count them. To this the Democrats replied that if the vice-president was to be the final

arbiter of the decisions in case of contested votes—which were certain to be in evidence—what was the use of a joint session?

In fact, there had never been a contest of this kind. In former elections, votes of some States had been rejected on account of irregularities, but in no case had this action affected the result. Now the disputed votes would turn the scale, as the Republicans needed every disputed vote to elect their candidate. The story of how the precedents were investigated, and of the many learned opinions put forth by statesmen and lawyers in the case on both sides is interesting. The arguments read like briefs in a patent infringement suit rather than a discussion of a great question of justice.

Grant felt that, with the House Democratic and the Republican Senate claiming unusual powers in the count, great responsibilities reposed in him. Many years later he said to George W. Childs and Anthony J. Drexel that he always supposed from the beginning of the controversy that the vote of Louisiana would be counted for Tilden.

The situation seemed to centre very largely around the Democratic national chairman, Abram S. Hewitt, who was a member of the House, and the supposed representative of Tilden. The last assumption was to some extent an error. Throughout the controversy there was a continual uncertainty as to who was Tilden's spokesman. Hewitt naturally thought he should be, but was often as much in doubt as anyone. Colonel Pelton, Tilden's nephew and private secretary, sometimes seemed to be the man; sometimes, Speaker Randall; sometimes, Colonel Watterson, of Kentucky, who accepted election to a vacancy at Tilden's urgent request; and sometimes it seemed to be David Dudley Field, who had been chosen from a New York City district, at a special election, for the very purpose of looking after the legal interests of Tilden, and seemed at times to have his complete confidence. In fact, there was never a time when

any man had the complete confidence of Tilden, whose frequent telegrams were often unsigned, and, though in general there was a perfect understanding as to what should be done, progress in a matter in which Tilden was most concerned was much interrupted by his occasional refusal to give orders or by an order being sent to the wrong person. Moreover, when Tilden was ready with his plan it was too late. He was too much a lawyer and too little a politician to take advantage of what most Democratic leaders believed to be strategic opportunities.

So many persons have been claimed as authors of the idea of a mixed commission to consider the disputes, that it is of no use going into the matter here. As a fact, President Grant called Hewitt into frequent conference, and the general plan of a commission was tentatively agreed upon. Grant assured Hewitt that he wanted only justice done, and the latter was so certain that the right was on his side that he never objected to the selection of an impartial commission.

The idea of a commission had been gaining support because arbitration had averted a war with England a few years before, and was by some considered the panacea for all political ills. It was inevitable that some such tribunal should be appealed to, since it was impossible for Congress to decide when its two component bodies were politically opposed and felt so bitterly on the subject. This was talked over by political leaders on both sides, till in the House, McCrary, of Iowa, on December 7th, moved the appointment of a committee to meet any other similar committee from the Senate to confer and report a measure for settling the electoral controversy, "to the end that the votes should be counted, and the result declared by a tribunal whose authority none can question, and whose decision all will accept."

This was expecting a great deal from human nature, but the resolution was passed on the 14th, and was adopted by the Senate on the 18th, without dissent or debate. These

bodies were not, legislatively speaking, but only informally, a joint committee to which was handed over the destiny of the nation. The membership consisted of:

Representatives—Henry B. Payne, of Ohio; Eppa Hunton, of Virginia; Abram S. Hewitt, of New York; and William M. Springer, of Illinois, Democrats. George W. McCrary, of Iowa; George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts; and George Willard, of Michigan, Republicans.

Senators—George F. Edmunds, of Vermont; Roscoe Conkling, of New York; Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey; and Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana, Republicans. Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio; Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware; and Matthew W. Ransom, of North Carolina, Democrats.

It was an evenly balanced committee politically, and contained the best ability and political generalship of the country. If it were possible to devise a plan to settle the controversy, these men ought to have been able to do so. Every shade of political feeling and every section of the country east of the Mississippi was represented. These gentlemen soon found that, although they were all for peace, they were very much at variance as to how it should be brought about. Any plan that would be acceptable must be as non-partisan as possible; not a suggestion of advantage must inhere to either contestant. The idea of a mixed commission prevailed from the start, general opinion favoring a certain number of Republicans and Democrats from Congress or elsewhere, and the rest of the commission to be taken from the Supreme Court by lot. Now, as there were but two Democrats on the Supreme Bench (excepting David Davis, who was an Independent with supposed Democratic leanings), it was evident that any casting of lots would, on a purely mathematical basis, be in favor of the Republicans. Many Democrats claimed that it was not fair to select any arbitrator, not even the umpire, by lot, and that rather than submit to such a proceeding the idea of a commission would be abandoned. Tilden,

while never opposing a commission, and never greatly favoring one, had absolutely refused in any case to let the matter be submitted to lot. His own view of the controversy was expressed in a resolution introduced in the House by Field, which asserted that the House had equal power with the Senate in determining the votes which should be accepted from any State when there was a dispute. There are many persons who to this day believe that if the House had insisted in this proposition, the Senate would have given way, and Tilden would have been seated. Blaine says in his memoirs that this would have been the case. Blaine opposed the commission.

One month was taken up by the secret meetings of this joint committee. Continuously there was pressure of all sorts being brought to bear on every person concerned, and this was so strong in favor of arbitration that certain inconsiderate persons thought that property interests were willing to sacrifice justice to peace. This was the time when, as declared by Hewitt, the movements in various States were made to organize troops. The details of the way in which the committee reached a conclusion show that the idea of leaving the final decision to the Supreme Court was the one uppermost, and it must be said to the credit of many of the members, especially the Democrats, that they insisted that such a thing as a partisan decision from that body was not to be expected, not even to be thought of. The final composition of the commission was the result of Hewitt's suggestion after consultation with Tilden. It named by districts the only two Democratic justices on the bench, two Republican justices, and left the four to select the fifth. In addition to these, the commission was to be composed of five senators and five representatives. It was understood as well as anything of the sort could be, that the four judges were to elect Judge Davis as the fifteenth member of the commission, the member who in any partisan division of the commission would be the real arbiter. Otherwise, it is not likely the plan would have been adopted.

Also, it was understood that there were to be three Democrats and two Republicans from the House and three Republicans and two Democrats from the Senate. Parties and partisanship were ignored.

Stanley Matthews said after the event that the Republicans preferred Davis to Bradley. This does not seem to have been the general feeling. Senator Hoar believed that Davis, though an ambitious politician, was so great a lawyer that he would have decided in favor of the Republican contention.

The committees of the two Houses reported back identical bills on January 18th, when, according to the law, the time for the counting of the electoral vote was near at hand. The commission as recommended was supposed to be composed of seven Republicans, seven Democrats, and one neutral. Now, in such a case no man can be neutral, because he is obliged to vote, and, no matter how honest he be, his opponents will not concede him any honor in his act. Democrats were hilarious because they felt that Judge Davis would certainly vote for them in one case—all they needed. Republicans opposed the bill partly because, among other reasons, it seemed to them that Davis on his record was a "straddler," always trying to be on both sides at once or alternately changing from one to the other, and they had no idea that he would vote on all the four cases alike. If he voted once with the Democrats the Republicans must surely lose. Wherefore the Republicans were far from happy, but many felt they must stand by their committee's action. In the Senate the authority and the argument of Senator Edmunds compelled that body, against the wishes of many members, to agree to the measure. Morton, who did not even sign the report, Blaine and Sherman, with others, were bitter against the measure, but it passed by Democratic votes under pressure brought from all sides. In the debate it was clearly laid down by Edmunds that no rules of action were binding on the commission. Its authority in the matter committed to it was supreme.

When the measure reached the House it had already been under discussion, but the real struggle was awaiting the Senate bill. It can be said on the testimony of many Republicans that the action of the Senate was distinctly depressing, and that they were impelled to support the bill only because it had been recommended by direct authority from the White House, and because the alternative seemed a civil war. Many Republican leaders fought it determinedly.

And now occurred another of those extraordinary incidents which if introduced into fiction would be considered impossible and ruled out on the ground of violating experience. In fact, there was a series of unexpected contingencies, all of which favored the Republicans. Justice Davis, who had been tacitly agreed upon as the fifteenth man on the commission, and who was so generally conceded or hoped to be a Tilden man in the last analysis, was suddenly chosen a member of the United States Senate from Illinois after a contest that had been rather surprising in many respects. Senator Logan, the sitting member, had been balloted for by the Republicans constantly, but there were three so-called Independent members of the legislature who had refused to support him, and at last Davis was elected by exactly the required number of votes. Hewitt believed that this was the result of a corrupt bargain to get Davis off the commission and secure a Republican in his place. Whether there was any such bargain or not, the temperamental features of the situation at once changed completely. There was no other Democrat or Independent on the bench, so that no matter whom the four judges named in the bill selected, he was certain to be a Republican. It was assumed by all that a senator-elect could not properly act under the circumstances.

The result was that some formerly dissident Republicans at once became enthusiastic for the bill, while Democrats seemed to have lost their sense of the wonderful fitness of the plan to bring about abstract justice. Nevertheless, the Democrats, as a rule, stuck by the bill and voted for it;

while most of the Republicans still voted against it, on the ground that they had carried the election fairly and ought not to be asked to give up any chances. As a result, the bill passed and became a law, with the following political division in the two houses. In the Senate, twenty-six Democrats voted for the bill, one against it; twenty-one Republicans for, sixteen against. In the House, one hundred and sixty Democrats voted for the bill, seventeen against it; thirty-one Republicans for, sixty-nine against.

In reality it was a Democratic measure.

The Congressional membership of the commission was as follows: Senators Edmunds, Frelinghuysen, and Morton, Republicans; Thurman and Bayard, Democrats. Representatives Abbott, Payne, and Hunton, Democrats; Garfield and Hoar, Republicans.

During a portion of the proceedings Senator Kernan took the seat of Senator Thurman, the latter being ill. The commission also included Justices Miller and Strong, Republicans; Clifford and Field, Democrats: designated only by their circuits.

The extraordinary feature of this arrangement was that it left out Conkling, who had been a member of the Senate committee which arranged the commission, and who was one of the strongest Republican leaders. He was left off for his known opinion that Tilden had been elected. The fifteenth member was selected with difficulty. The four members of the Supreme Court did not relish the task imposed upon them, probably foreseeing the loss of prestige which actually took place. Justice Davis was offered the place by the four justices named, but he declined it. Then, for some hours, it seemed possible that no selection would take place, and that the entire scheme would be blocked. Justice Bradley was finally chosen, and was the most acceptable man to the Democratic party of those available, since he was of independent cast of mind, and some of his recent decisions, while on circuit, known as the Slaughter-House Cases, had shown him out of sympathy with the radical Republicans.

The law creating the commission provided briefly as follows: When from any State there were disputed returns received by the vice-president in regular order, and in joint session of Congress objection was made to the receipt of any vote, all disputed sets of certificates were to be referred to the commission, which was to report its decision. This decision was to stand unless overruled by the separate vote of both houses—something most unlikely to occur in any event. Provision was made to expedite the contest, and supposedly to prevent a deadlock. All that human ingenuity could devise was enacted to make some decision effective before the rapidly approaching 4th of March—which fell on Sunday.

Promptly at noon on the first Wednesday of February, 1877, the two Houses of Congress met in joint session to count the vote, acting Vice-president Ferry in the chair. There was no opposition until the vote of Florida was reached, when certificates of Republican and Democratic electors were announced and all were sent to the commission.

The meeting of the commission was an extraordinary event. Able counsel represented both sides, and the proceedings were hastened as much as possible. In the last analysis the whole question reverted to whether the Returning Boards—which canvassed the vote and made up the final totals of the various States—had full authority in canvassing the vote or whether the commission had the right to go behind those returns and canvass the vote as actually cast. This question came up in the Senate, and Edmunds refused to answer it, saying that it was for the commission to decide. Hewitt charged that Hoar, on the floor of the House, had promised that the commission should go behind the returns, and after he became a member of the commission had voted that the commission had no such power. Hoar denied, in an emphatic speech, that he had ever said or intimated any such thing, and declared that he always had been of the contrary opinion.

This question was argued long by counsel, and the commission devoted one day in secret to its consideration. On this day, Democrats had an idea that the question was practically decided by eight to seven,—Justice Bradley siding with the Democrats,—that the commission should go behind the returns. It seems that in making up his mind, following a not uncommon course, Bradley prepared two opinions for his private use, giving the whole argument on both sides of the question. Some inkling of this got out, and a member of the commission thought that Justice Bradley was siding with the Democrats. Word was carried that night to Hewitt of this alleged standing of the commission, and he considered the fight won, since the Republicans did not claim that the county returns showed a majority for the Hayes and Wheeler electors. For a few hours, it was assumed by Democrats that Tilden would be the next president.

As this is the most vital point of the controversy, it is well to give such testimony as is available on the subject. In his *Life of Tilden*, John Bigelow says that he called upon Tilden about this time and was informed by him that for two hundred thousand dollars the opinion of a member of the Supreme Court could be purchased that the commission had the right to go behind the returns. Bigelow doubted this, and Tilden said that the justice in question needed the money and must have it, but that Tilden had refused the offer.

This quotation from Bigelow's diary is controverted by Colonel Watterson to this extent: that he does not think that any money consideration was mentioned. The decision, he says, was offered to Tilden; but the price involved was not money, but certain political and other considerations which were not accepted. He thinks that Bigelow had a lapse of memory.

On the following morning, Justice Bradley sided with the Republicans and ever afterward; for which, some time later, he gave in an open letter the explanation that he had

written the two opinions for private use and had never decided in favor of the Democrats. The alleged witnesses to his change of mind, his Democratic colleagues, also denied any knowledge that Bradley had changed his opinion.

The charge against Justice Bradley undoubtedly embittered the last years of his life. No proof was ever offered of the truth of the charge, and all testimony was against it, but the story has survived until this day.

Senator Hoar, a few weeks before his death, made the following interesting statement on the subject:

"I do not believe a more impartial, incorruptible and upright judge ever sat than Mr. Justice Bradley. He was as little affected or influenced in any opinion by any political or other unworthy motive as would have been any great English judge who would have been called in to settle this question as an impartial referee, caring nothing for either party. Mr. Justice Bradley never announced to the Electoral Commission or so far as I know or believe, to any member of it, an opinion in favor of the Democratic contention and, of course, never announced any change of opinion. Senators Thurman and Bayard, two of the Democratic members (of the Commission) had in debate in the Senate, before the questions arose, very strongly urged that under the Constitution, the two Houses had no right to go behind the decisions of the tribunals appointed by the States to determine the result of the election of the Presidential electors. A little while before, Judge Abbott (also a member of the Commission), at a dinner given by a law club at the house of the late Justice Gray, had very vehemently announced the same opinion in a discussion with Judge Benjamin F. Thomas, one of our ablest lawyers. I heard this when I came home to Massachusetts after the inauguration of President Hayes, from Mr. Justice Gray himself—then Chief Justice of Massachusetts. On my way back to Washington Senator Kernan, who had taken a place on the Electoral Commission when Mr. Thurman was ill, got into the cars and we talked all the way from New York to

Washington. I told him this story (about Judge Abbott). He replied: ‘Mr. Hoar, you will never hear me say anything to the contrary of that.’ So of the eight Democratic members who sat on the Commission—though there were but seven Democrats at any one time—four were of the opinion that the majority were right. I do not know how many able Democrats have since expressed to me the same opinion, and have said that any other conclusion would have resulted, in all probability, in the overthrow of the Republic. I am willing to rest my own vindication and the vindication of the action of the Electoral Commission, if it should be necessary, with the Democratic party alone.”

This statement, which undoubtedly represents the existing sentiment of the country on the subject without regard to politics, is interesting, because at the time of the decision the nation was divided into two nearly equal hostile political camps, and there was little honor or integrity imputed by one to the other. The passions of that time have passed away, and the decision of the commission has been vindicated in law and in legislation, but the fact must not be forgotten that at the time there were few who believed in the integrity of a political opponent, and the charges of fraud and bribery lasted for years, and are not yet entirely dispelled. In those days, honest men did not get their dues. It is quite likely that every member of the commission was equally honest and upright according to his existing views, no matter what his previous or later opinions upon the legal question involved.

The fact is that when the commission met, February 9th, to take a formal vote, Justice Bradley sided with the Republicans. As a result, by a vote of eight to seven, it was decided not to go behind the returns. The Republican certificates from Florida were declared the true ones. This decision was reported to the joint session, and the Houses separated; the Senate agreed to stand by the commission, while the House disagreed. Under the law the votes were then counted for Hayes in joint session. The Democrats

were in angry mood, but the count proceeded until Louisiana was reached, and again disputed certificates appeared, and these were sent to the commission.

And now the irreconcilable Democrats of the House who had opposed the commission from the first began to organize opposition to the findings of the commission, which daily increased, until at one time it seemed to some that their plan of preventing any decision whatever, and of declaring Tilden elected, would succeed. That it did not was due to the determined opposition of Hewitt and the action of Speaker Randall, who threw the rules of the House to the winds and controlled the House by a "higher law"; and also to the fact that General Grant was in the White House.

The Louisiana case was in every way a much better one for the Democrats than that of Florida, even without going behind the returns, since it was asserted that the Returning Board was not legally constituted, and had acted fraudulently, and that the returns were not properly made out, necessitating a duplicate set which was—as it was claimed—forged in Washington, since no time was left to carry it back for amendment. The latter issue was not raised, and the averments of fraud were not sustained by the commission. Once more, by a strict party vote, the Republican certificates were adopted and counted in joint session as before. It was now getting late in the session, and there was feverish excitement on all hands. While it was generally felt that Hayes would get the votes of all the doubtful States, there were Democrats who threatened bloodshed and revolution rather than submit to what they believed was a fraud. The vote of Oregon was cast for Hayes on February 24th, though it seemed to Democrats that it required some ingenious arguments for the Republicans to keep from appearing to reverse their former opinion in the case. On February 28th, the vote of South Carolina was counted for Hayes after a struggle in which the excitement reached its height, the Democrats claiming that in every disputed contest the Republicans had advanced new

arguments which were in effect opposed to what they had successfully used in others.

With the vote of South Carolina the main disputes were ended, but the contest was not closed by any means. Objections were made to the votes of several States on the ground that certain electors were ineligible; as, for instance, men who had served as members of the National Centennial Commission, or Commissioners in Bankruptcy and the like. While there was no real expectation that the Democrats would win in any of these cases, they were determined to fight to the last, the more so because a new element had entered into the situation.

The irreconcilable Democrats, now thoroughly aroused, had been growing in strength, and threatened by filibustering tactics to delay the completion of the count until the expiration of Congress on March 4th, when it would be too late to act. These were never in a majority, but their vote was largely increased by members who wanted delay for other purposes. Owing to the technical objections to certain electors, already specified, the joint sessions of the Houses were frequently adjourned and separate votes taken. In no case was there serious delay until February 24th, when the irreconcilables of the House, seeing "all lost but honor," concluded to filibuster for the rest of the session. It must be remembered that in those days the chances of parliamentary filibustering were plentiful, that Randall himself had held up the House for seventy-two hours consecutively, and had forced the Republican majority to abandon the Force Bill. The same rules being in force, Randall being in the chair, and the House being Democratic, what more easy than to "filibuster to the millennium"? For a time Randall held the House in control, but on February 24th, it attempted to get away from him. Dilatory motions of every sort were made only to be ignored by the Speaker. This unprecedented action caused surprise and anger, even on the part of conservative Democrats who believed the seating of Hayes a foregone conclusion. They were not, however,

willing to see the Speaker act arbitrarily. In a few moments the House was in an uproar. Members stood on their chairs and yelled, others banged their desks, while others rushed to the open space in front of the Speaker's desk and yelled like Comanches.

When order was with some difficulty restored, the Speaker announced that he would not recognize a certain dilatory motion, which, though otherwise perfectly proper, was not legal now because of its manifest purpose. The Chair announced his reasons as follows:

"The Chair rules that when the Constitution of the United States directs anything to be done, or when the laws under the Constitution of the United States enacted in obedience thereto, direct any act of this House, it is not in order to make any motion to obstruct or impede the execution of the injunction of the Constitution and the laws."

For this ruling the Speaker was later assailed with a fury that cannot now be expressed in words. By members of his own party he was accused of the basest crimes, the insinuation being that he had made the ruling for a consideration. The Speaker stood firm while the contest raged round him on March 1st with renewed intensity. It was the most trying time of his life, and he never fully recovered from the strain. In the maelstrom of invective and rage which followed, Randall alone was calm, though his normally dark face was white as alabaster and his nerves were strained to the breaking point. James Monroe, Republican member of the House at the time, has thus described the situation:

"He (the Speaker) was subjected to a strain upon voice and nerve and physical strength such as few men could have endured. At times he was visited with a storm of questions and reproaches. Would he not entertain a privileged motion? He would not. Would he not put a motion for a recess? A motion for the call of the House? A motion to excuse some member from voting? A motion to reconsider? A motion to lay something on the table? He would not. Were not these motions in order under the

rules? They were. Would he not then submit some of them to the House? He would not. Was he not then an oppressor and a despot? He was not. Would he not then put some dilatory motion? He would not. Why would he not? Because of his obligation to the law."

Hewitt and Randall, convinced at last that the presidency was lost to Tilden except through a revolution, which they did not wish to see, had not abandoned the interests of the Democratic party. There was still something to be saved out of the wreck, something which was to a portion of the membership of vastly more importance than the presidency—namely, the control of the State governments in the three disputed Southern States. If Hayes should use the Federal troops to seat the Republican candidates, there was certain to be domestic violence, and perhaps civil war. If the Democrats could get those State governments, it was of more importance than the presidency, since it would restore political conditions to the *status quo ante bellum*.

Feelers were thrown out to the Republican leaders to the effect that it might be possible to control the irreconcilables in the House if an understanding on the State governments, particularly Louisiana, could be arrived at. The time was getting late, and the Democrats must have some assurances on the subject. A private and entirely unofficial conference was suggested and took place at Wormley's Hotel. There were present John Sherman, James A. Garfield, Charles Foster, and Dudley Denison, all of Ohio, and with written authority to speak for Hayes; Representatives E. J. Ellis and William Levy, of Louisiana, and Henry Watterson, of Kentucky, for the Democrats, the latter representing South Carolina's interests.

The Republican members announced that they would see to it that things were satisfactory, but this was entirely too indefinite. The time was getting short, and the Democrats wanted a guarantee that the Federal troops would not be used to uphold the Republican claimants to State offices, while, on their part, they were willing to agree that no

Republican should be punished for his political acts, though not to be free from prosecution for actual crime.

The matter was one of delicacy and difficulty, for it involved practically an abandonment of the whole of the Reconstruction policy of the government. But unless an arrangement was made there was the threat of filibustering and civil war. Eventually the Democrats were satisfied that the Federal troops would be withdrawn. In fact, Grant had already come to this decision.

Something already had happened to make the threat of war seem ominous. To the astonishment of everybody, it seemed that Hewitt, who from the first had labored for a peaceful settlement of the controversy, who had been maligned and threatened by members of his own party, and who had opposed the irreconcilables, had suddenly abandoned his position and had gone over to the filibusters. There was a panic on all sides and the irreconcilables were certain of victory. Some of Hewitt's closest friends remonstrated with him, but he did not explain his purpose.

What he did was as follows: The call of States on February 28th was almost completed and it seemed as if Hayes would certainly be seated, when Hewitt objected to the vote of Vermont, saying that he understood there was another set of electoral votes. Ferry announced that there was not, that an envelope purporting to contain a set of votes had reached him after the time limit had expired and that he had refused to receive it. In a most dramatic manner Hewitt drew from his pocket an envelope, claiming it to be the electoral vote of Vermont, and moved that it be sent to the commission. The alleged vote was the work of a crank, as Hewitt knew, but he was sparring for wind. This reference to the commission, of course, could not be made under the rules, as Hewitt well knew, but he succeeded in having the vote of Vermont objected to and it was necessary for the Houses to separate and vote, though, of course, it would have no effect on the result, as the Senate would sustain the Republican certificates. Time for the Wormley conferees

to agree, however, was what Hewitt wanted, and the proceedings were adjourned until next day, March 1st, when a campaign was started in the House to have the vote of Vermont sent to the commission or to suspend further proceedings in the count. On this proposition the contest raged all day long with a virulence that cannot be adequately described. There were few members on either side who knew what was going on—that Hewitt was waiting first for the Wormley conference to come to an agreement, and next to have Tilden's approval of the final close of the contest. All day long and far into the night the contest raged. In the excitement Fernando Wood, of New York, was accused of being the high priest of the Republican party—a statement that greatly amused him and his friends.

In the meantime the irreconcilables were delirious with delight. On a motion which seemed to carry their contention, they noticed about midnight, with glee, that conservatives were voting with them and that they would carry the motion easily. The vote was about half over, when Levy suddenly appeared on the floor, informed Hewitt that a satisfactory agreement had been reached at the Wormley Hotel, and gave word to stop the contest. This was done, much to the discomfiture of the irreconcilables, who saw victory, so nearly in their grasp, fade from sight. They attempted to carry on the fight, but without avail. But for the Wormley agreement, filibustering might have succeeded and chaos resulted. The House did pass a resolution which declared that Tilden had been lawfully elected, but it was mere *brutum fulmen*. The joint session was reconvened by Speaker Randall, without orders from the House, on receipt of a telegram from Tilden that he was satisfied to have the count completed. In the early hours of March 2d, Hayes and Wheeler were officially declared elected, and the contest was ended.

That Hayes and Wheeler were seated by extra constitutional means is an incident in American history absolutely unique. Such means were employed to prevent civil war,

and the result was acquiesced in rather grudgingly by the Democrats. They were the more impelled to this course because the commission was more of a Democratic than a Republican measure, as the detailed vote given above shows.

Some results of the contest were as follows:

President Hayes withdrew many of the Federal troops from the South, while those which remained were not used to bolster up Republican State government, and the Democrats got the State offices. Republicans concerned in the Returning Board scandals generally got the Federal offices.

A law was passed for canvassing the vote in future elections in a way to prevent a repetition of the contest. The Federal government gave up any claim whatever to go behind the returns, which Republicans have held as a justification of their course before the commission, and which Democrats have acquiesced in. To do anything else would have been to fly in the face of a century of Democratic contention as to States' rights.

Committees of investigation delved into the subject and produced a mass of testimony that proved there were many dishonest men in both parties in the South, but did not convince either party that it was wrong in its original contention.

Charges of bribery were made and investigations held. Nothing was definitely proved in a way that led to legislative action. On this point, just before his death, Hewitt wrote:

“I stated publicly in the House that the vote of the Returning Board (of Louisiana) was offered to me for two hundred thousand dollars and that I declined to buy it. I know further that attempts were made in other quarters (to Colonel Pelton) to dispose of the vote of the Returning Board, that negotiations actually took place sufficient to satisfy all parties that the vote could be bought, and then the matter fell through in consequence of Mr. Tilden refusing to be a party to any such measure.”

Tilden and Hendricks received a clear plurality of the popular vote, even as counted by the commission. Who were chosen presidential electors in the three disputed States on a fair vote and honest count, even as it was cast, is known to no one and never can be known.

CHAPTER IX

ADMINISTRATIONS OF HAYES, GARFIELD, AND ARTHUR

PRESIDENT HAYES was inaugurated on March 5, 1877, under unusual conditions and without a ripple of excitement, though with less than the usual popular enthusiasm. He was a sincere man, who accepted the responsibilities laid upon him in the spirit of the times. He well knew how far removed his title was from that of his predecessors, but, accepting the decision of Congress, he determined to do his duty as he saw it, and succeeded, though not without much contemporary criticism. He had already said that he would not accept a second term and had predetermined on a course which he hoped would bring about an era of good feeling between the sections. As a step toward this he appointed to his Cabinet, as postmaster general, a Democrat and former Confederate, David M. Key, of Tennessee. This innovation was not accepted North or South in the spirit in which it was made and seems generally to have been considered a tactical mistake, the time not yet being ripe for such an exhibition of generous spirit.

The remaining members of the Cabinet were William M. Evarts, of New York, secretary of state; John Sherman, of Ohio, secretary of the treasury; George W. McCrary, of Iowa, secretary of war; Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, secretary of the navy; Carl Schurz, of Missouri, secretary of the interior; and Charles Devens, of Massachusetts, attorney-general.

This was an unusually strong body of men intellectually, but it had little political strength. Sherman was the only man who represented a great constituency, while the appointment of Schurz, who had been so prominent in the Greeley movement, gave great offence to the friends of Grant. It was not the plan of the president to play at politics, but to ensure, so far as possible, an administration of ability and dignity, and above all one which would serve to quiet the passions of the hour and remove the improper stigma which was by so many placed upon it by reason of its unusual title. The verdict of history has justified President Hayes.

The president withdrew the troops from the support of politics in the South, and the Democratic governments took possession of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, though not until in the latter case there had been much contention. In fact, the methods used to accomplish the withdrawal of the Republican legislature were not commendable. The fact is that final reconstruction was accomplished through the seating of Hayes. It was not the sort of reconstruction that Stevens had fought for, but it had at least the merit of settling a vexed question. The whites came into absolute control of the lately rebellious States, and years passed before the Republican party carried one of them.

But for his unfailing good sense, experience, and abilities, President Hayes's administration would have suffered wreck. It was a time when partisanship was wrought up to fever heat, and the Republican party itself was rent by factional differences. Under such circumstances the president was sure to receive a great deal of unjust criticism, no matter what he did. While in office Hayes was unpopular, though he commanded the respect of many conservative persons not interested in partisan or factional politics.

He was a consistent civil service reformer so far as he was in a position to accomplish his purposes. General Grant had endorsed this reform in principle, but it made little

headway, especially after Congress refused appropriations to carry on the work. By administrative orders President Hayes established such reforms as he could, though it was many years before the service was well organized on a reform basis. Civil service reform was not popular with the party leaders, and the orders of the president were to a large extent ignored. The president and Secretary Sherman were dissatisfied with the conduct of the chief Federal offices in New York which came under the Treasury Department. Chester A. Arthur, a prominent leader in local politics, was collector of the port, and the warm friend of Senator Conkling. A. B. Cornell was naval officer, and George H. Sharpe, surveyor. These were accused of conducting the offices they held in a grossly partisan manner, of being extravagant, and of winking at ignorance, inefficiency, and bribery on the part of subordinates, to the great detriment of the public service. Efforts were made to effect changes without friction. Arthur was offered a post abroad, but he declined it. There was a determination to test whether the president could control the Senate in case of removals. It should be remembered that Conkling doubted the title of Hayes to the presidency. In the winter of 1877–1878 new nominations for the chief Federal offices in New York were sent to the Senate and were rejected, Senator Conkling taking the lead against the president. At the end of the session the officials were dismissed and new men appointed, who, when the Senate met again, were confirmed, though after a bitter struggle. This increased the factional divisions in the party.

The president, however, was unable to remove partisanship from the service, and though he made a number of changes in the chief offices, there was not a very notable improvement in the civil service.

The most important problem which confronted Hayes at the beginning of his administration was the suppression of the Indian uprisings in the Northwest, a task left over from a former administration.

Of all the problems which the Federal government has undertaken to solve, none has proved more productive of failure than that which deals with the Indians. The problem started with the first settlement of white men in America, but it was not until the present Constitution that efforts were made to deal with it in the large. This is not the place to give a complete account of the successes and failures of the first eighty years. There has never been a well-defined Indian policy consistently adhered to. Perhaps a poor policy, if maintained, would have produced some beneficial results. Our forefathers had no precedent to guide in such a difficult matter, and, though there were many good and earnest people in authority from time to time, advance was slow. The nation was much more interested in the progress of the white race than in socio-logical experimentation. The great trouble lay in the fact that on the frontier the Indians came in contact with the worst specimens of the white race. One result was that the Indians became suspicious and often revengeful. At no time was all the right or all the wrong on one side.

During the Civil War, many Indians from the Indian Territory entered the Confederate service, while the Sioux in the North took occasion of the contest to make a raid in Minnesota, during which they murdered men, women, and children and destroyed an immense amount of property. It has been noted that the Indians attempted to interfere with the construction of the Union Pacific Railway. The number of troops employed to guard the laborers was not always sufficient, and as a result there were some encounters in which the soldiers suffered heavily. On a few occasions, the bravery and endurance of the troops when placed at great disadvantage were phenomenal and stirred the country. There was praise for the soldiers and a growing spirit of hatred against the Indians.

In the Southwest, the Apaches of Arizona and New Mexico were the first to make trouble. These Indians had alternately been fought off and pacified by issues of rations,

until they had lost all respect for the government and had little for the white settlers of the Territories. They represented the most cruel of the aboriginal races in America. In 1871 a crisis was reached when some Indians were massacred in revenge for atrocities committed on the whites, of whom it was claimed some five hundred had been killed in a few years. General Crook was sent against the Apaches in 1872 and enlisted friendly Indians to fight with him. His campaign was successful, and the Apaches were brought under temporary subjection, only to break out again on occasion, and it was almost twenty years before they were finally subdued.

The Northwest tribes, until the construction of the railroad, had not come much in contact with the whites; but one of the first fruits of that enterprise had been a steady slaughter of the buffalo, upon which the Indians depended for a living. As the buffalo decreased, the ire of the Indians rose, especially as the government kept insisting that they retire to reservations which did not in all cases suit them. The so-called treaties made with the Indians were not always procured in good faith by either side, and in many instances the mass of Indians considered themselves not bound by the actions of their chiefs. Usually, in exchange for lands the government gave large annuities and agreed to issue rations sufficient to keep the aborigines while they "learned the art of agriculture." It is now generally believed that it was a mistake to promise rations, since it removed the spur of necessity under which alone the natives could reasonably be expected to progress. If the promised rations had been furnished in amount and quality as agreed upon, there would have been less trouble; but for years one of the stenches in the nostrils of all good men was the Indian Ring, which practically controlled all contracts for supplies to the Indians, and which robbed and cheated for a long time without detection. Under such circumstances the Indians generally were disaffected toward the government, all the more because they were under the control of agents who

were often incompetent, or worse. Moreover, they resented a policy which, contrary to their normal customs, confined them to certain sections.

In the Far West, the Modoc war broke out, and is especially remembered for the treacherous murder of General Canby. The Klamaths, of Oregon, had been moved to a reservation which they were to share with the Modocs. The latter complained that agreements had not been kept, and in 1872 some left for their old homes. They were a warlike tribe, and, fearing trouble, the government sent General E. R. S. Canby and some troops, with instructions to make peace if possible. After a preliminary campaign, in which the Federal troops suffered severely, the Modocs, or a portion of them, retired to the lava beds in the extreme northern part of California, where they made an encampment in what was a natural fortification of such strength that they believed it impregnable. After some difficulty a conference was arranged in January, 1873, between the chiefs and General Canby, at which the latter was assisted by two white commissioners. In the midst of the parley, the Modocs killed two of the commissioners and severely injured the third. After this there was no alternative but war, and it was prosecuted under extraordinary difficulties. The lava beds contained many gulleys and caves in which the Indians hid and for a long time escaped injury, while they were able to inflict damage on the Federal troops. In the end, after many struggles, the Indians were surrounded, a large number slain, and the rest captured. Four of the chiefs were executed for their part in the massacre, and two were imprisoned.

Further east, in the Dakotas, a still more serious situation arose. The Sioux were constantly protesting against the encroachment of the white men, but there was little difficulty until the discovery of gold in the Black Hills in 1874. Thereafter an effort was made to confine the Sioux to a much smaller reservation than had been formerly allotted to them. Some of the bands agreed to retire to assigned locations, but in Montana a large number, under the leadership

of Sitting Bull, absolutely refused. The Federal government determined to remove them by force and sent out the largest armed expedition that had been gathered since the Civil War. In order to surround the Indians, if possible, the expedition was divided, and one portion under General George Custer was sent by General Terry, in command of the whole, to advance to a certain point in Montana, under written instructions as to procedure. On June 25, 1876, Custer met the Indians at a camp on the Little Big Horn, divided his own forces, and made an attack. One wing under Major Reno, after making a charge, retired just as the Indians were about to fly. In return the Indians charged and routed Reno, who escaped with loss to a place of safety, but without power to aid Custer.

Custer's force at this time consisted of only two hundred and sixty-three men. He had no knowledge that the Indians were so numerous or that they would fight with such skill. Early in the battle he despatched a trooper for aid, but none was near. Every man in the command was shot down by the Indians, led by Rain-in-the-Face. At the time it was customary to speak of this as a "massacre," but that phrase is now discarded. The Indians won in an open fight and there was no treachery on either side. Out of this battle, however, arose a controversy as to whether Custer did or did not disobey orders, which thirty years later is not settled. The Indians escaped to the northward, and Terry was unable to overtake them.

Such was the situation when President Hayes in 1877 was obliged to send out another expedition, not only against the Sioux, but to keep other Northwest tribes quiet. The leadership in this campaign was given to General Nelson A. Miles, one of the distinguished officers of the Civil War, who took the unusual course of making a campaign in winter under the most discouraging circumstances. It was a complete success, and for ten years there was temporary peace with the Sioux. The Nez Perces, further west, were subdued in a hard-fought campaign. In 1889 the Sioux

made their last campaign against the whites, but were overcome and shattered at Wounded Knee, Dakota. Since that time there has been few military operations against the Indians, who have lived peaceably on their reservations, many of them having received lands in severalty.

General Grant had appointed a commission of men prominent in religious and charitable work to undertake a general supervision of Indian affairs. These men worked hard, but under restrictions, and failed to accomplish all that was expected. The frauds could not be wholly stopped until an aroused public sentiment demanded an Indian policy which was based on just considerations, and which provided for the future of the Indian as a citizen when he should have attained a state worthy of the privilege. In his dealings with the Indians President Hayes endeavored to do justice as far as possible, but he was unable to solve the problem, which he in turn handed over to his successor.

During this administration the Democrats came into control of both the House and the Senate for the first time since the beginning of the Civil War. This remarkable political revolution in a few years greatly discouraged many of the Republican leaders. Hayes was not a candidate for renomination, and the question of the succession was a prominent one throughout his term. Blaine was once more a candidate and had a strong following, though not so large as in 1876. General Grant made a tour of the world soon after his retirement from the presidency in 1877, returning home early in 1880. Many of his friends urged him to be a candidate for a third term, and, though he was personally averse to making the contest, he would not say his friends nay. Secretary Sherman, who had conducted all the necessary treasury operations for resumption with great skill and had succeeded in refunding much of the debt at a lower rate of interest, was also a candidate with a strong following among business men. Senator George F. Edmunds, of Vermont, was by a small but eminent set of men pushed forward, while Elihu B. Washburne,

of Illinois, and William Windom, of Minnesota, had some followers.

As the time for the Republican convention at Chicago in 1880 drew near, it was seen that the contest was to be one of unprecedented bitterness. Blaine's friends were angry over his defeat in 1876, which they claimed was due to political treachery. The leaders of the third term movement were Senators Conkling, J. D. Cameron, and Logan, who marshalled their forces with great ability, using the name of the great soldier to conjure with wherever possible. Grant had been received with extraordinary demonstrations while abroad, and had received high encomiums from many of the great men of the world for his good judgment as well as for his military services. There was, however, not only a prejudice against a third term, but there were many people throughout the country who were opposed to Grant because of the scandals of his former administrations, and of a fear that the same men would surround him were he once more in the White House.

When the convention met, June 2d, it was evident that no candidate could command a majority of the votes. There was a feeling of tension from the very start, and this increased as the convention progressed. The balloting lasted several days with Grant always in the lead, Blaine a close second, Sherman a poor third, and the others with few votes. On the thirty-fifth ballot Wisconsin changed its support to James A. Garfield, of Ohio, leader of the Sherman forces, and he was nominated on the thirty-sixth, getting nearly all the votes except three hundred and six adherents of Grant, who stuck by their candidate to the last. At the suggestion of the disgruntled New York delegation, the convention chose for vice-president Chester A. Arthur, he who had been removed from the collectorship of New York as already narrated.

While there was intense disappointment on the part of the Grant delegation, the nomination was generally well received. General Garfield had served with distinction in the

War, left the field because of physical ailments, and entered Congress where he had sat ever since. He had recently been elected to the Senate but had not taken his seat.

The Democratic convention met at Cincinnati June 22d. Tilden had steadfastly refused to be a candidate again and sent a letter to that effect to be used in the convention. The contest was a brief one. General Winfield Scott Hancock, of Pennsylvania, then in the regular army, was nominated for president and William H. English, of Indiana, for vice-president.

The contest which followed was one of the most exciting in history. For a time it appeared that the Grant leaders might refuse to take an active part in it, but in the early autumn General Grant and many of his friends took the stump for Garfield. In this campaign the tariff was more nearly a direct party issue than it had been at any previous time. The Republicans were for protection, but the Democratic platform was equivocal on the subject. General Hancock made the issue when in his letter of acceptance he said that the tariff was a local issue. This statement cost him many votes, and, in the opinion of many shrewd observers, the election.

The Republicans carried the day by means of the pivotal State of New York, though by a popular majority of only a few thousand. The Republicans regained control of the House of Representatives and carried enough legislatures to give them, with the vote of one independent senator (David Davis), a numerical equality to the Democrats in the Senate.

General Garfield's administration was brief and disastrous. He named for his Cabinet: James G. Blaine, of Maine, secretary of state; William Windom, of Minnesota, secretary of the treasury; Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois, secretary of war; William H. Hunt, of Louisiana, secretary of the navy; Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa, secretary of the interior; Thomas L. James, of New York, postmaster general; and Wayne MacVeagh, of Pennsylvania, attorney-general.

It will be noted that this Cabinet included two men who were candidates at Chicago. There were three others, indicated by their States, who were supposed politically to represent Conkling, Cameron, and Logan as the result of a preëlection promise to treat the friends of Grant fairly.

Apparently, Garfield had an opportunity to make a successful administration by steering clear of factional fights and establishing the party on a large basis, but many of his best friends feared that his temperament was such that he would be unable to do this. The fear proved well grounded. In accordance with the usual custom, a special session of the Senate was held, and in the early appointments Conkling's friends were well placed though not in high position. The real crux of the appointment situation centred around the collectorship of customs, in New York, for which there were a number of applicants. Conkling demanded consultation before final action and understood the president to accede to this. President Garfield fully comprehended the situation, but with an amazing lack of tact, after it was supposed that a temporary understanding had been reached, he sent to the Senate the name of William H. Robertson as collector. This was no less than a political bombshell. Robertson had been a delegate to the late Republican convention, and had cast his vote steadily for Blaine after the Republican convention of the State of New York had ordered its delegation to vote as a unit for such candidates as a majority should direct. It was greatly to the regret of Conkling and much to the injury of the Grant canvass that the convention had declared such instructions not binding and allowed each delegate to vote as he pleased. Robertson was the leader of those New York delegates, termed "Half-breeds," who had refused to obey the "unit rule," and was particularly obnoxious to Conkling. No nomination for any office could have been more offensive to Conkling, and he immediately laid it to the influence of Blaine.

As it proved later, this charge was incorrect, but Blaine could in no wise explain or oppose his chief. There is the

best authority for stating that it was entirely against the wishes of Blaine and absolutely without his knowledge that the Robertson nomination was sent in. Blaine was too astute a politician to countenance such a move and would undoubtedly have prevented it, if he had had the opportunity. After the fact, he could but acquiesce.

The immediate result was a declaration of war on the part of Conkling and his friends against the administration, which was regarded as having opened the combat with malicious intent. A strenuous effort was made to prevent the confirmation of Robertson's nomination, and for a time there was evidence that Conkling might succeed with the aid of Democratic senators who were looked upon as ready to do anything to embarrass the administration. This point of view turned out to be incorrect. Although Vice-president Arthur had been turned out of the collectorship and was in sympathy with Conkling and Thomas C. Platt, his colleague from New York, it proved impossible to prevent confirmation. There were some senators who were willing enough to help their New York colleagues, on the ground that "senatorial courtesy" required consultation in such appointments, but, on the other hand, there were not enough who dared brave the new administration and take an open stand against it. Some undoubtedly felt that this was a case where the presidential prerogative was paramount; some felt that the nomination was so fitting that it would be unwise to oppose it; some were in hearty sympathy with the president; and there were others, particularly Republicans, who felt that to fight the administration at this time might recoil on their own heads when nominations in their own interest were asked. In consequence the nomination was confirmed.

Such contests had taken place before. Conkling had won a victory over the Hayes administration on this very subject, only to be defeated later, and there was no little anxiety to know what would be done at this juncture. It has been commonly reported that Conkling took the initiative, and resigned his seat in the Senate with a lordly air which

induced his colleague, Platt, to follow, whereupon for many years Platt suffered the ignominy of being dubbed “Me Too.” The facts are to the contrary. It appears that in the previous winter, when Platt was a candidate for the nomination for United States senator before the Republican caucus at Albany, the question was raised whether or not he would support the Garfield administration. His answer was that unless he could do so conscientiously he would resign. It was Platt who led the way by tendering his resignation, and Conkling followed rather reluctantly.

These resignations caused a decided sensation. Among the political leaders of the country there was some sympathy for the men. It was felt that they had been insulted or that their dignity had been attacked, that they had been treated with contumely, seeing that it was the Grant wing of the Republican party which in the previous campaign had come late into the field and led on to victory. This feeling was not confined alone to the Grant wing of the party. Every senator and every politician who then understood the compelling power of patronage as commonly used and approved felt that here was an issue, and there were many of Garfield’s warmest friends who blamed him for his conduct. This feeling that the New York senators had acted in a manner heroic and in some sense justified was suddenly dispelled by their immediate appeal to the New York legislature, then in session, for reelection, in the hope of vindication. This removed the entire affair from the realm of heroics, and its chivalric splendor was lost in a mere partisan struggle. The contest for the succession was long, but it ended in a complete defeat for both aspirants. The new senators chosen were Elbridge Gerry Lapham and Warner Miller, members of the lower House.

This ended Conkling’s activity in politics. He retired to private practice at the bar, in which he achieved phenomenal success. In 1884 he refused to support Blaine for the presidency, unjustly accusing him of being the author of all his woes. It has been frequently said that both men

were really greater than the petty quarrel between them would indicate. There were times when each would have been willing to see the other nominated for the presidency rather than a dark horse, and that no complete *rapprochement* between them was effected was due largely to the terms imposed by Conkling, as already noted. Blaine was generous, but he was not willing to debase himself. Temperamentally, the men were as far apart as the poles. Conkling met an untimely death, due to overexertion during the great blizzard of March, 1888.

Probably this family quarrel in the Republican party would have quieted rapidly, had it not been followed so soon by the assassination of the president. On July 2, 1881, in the Baltimore and Potomac Railway station at Washington, Garfield was shot by Charles J. Guiteau, a disappointed office seeker, whom some considered half crazed. The assassin's bullet pierced the backbone, and the president fell into the arms of Secretary Blaine. He was quickly removed to the White House, and lay there for weeks hovering between life and death. There were many attending surgeons of eminence, who gave the patient every care and finally ordered his removal to Elberon, a suburb of Long Branch, New Jersey, where he died on September 19th. Coming so soon after the assassination of Lincoln, this event made a profound sensation, and during the weeks the life of the president hung in the balance the nation lifted up its voice unanimously in prayer for the preservation of its chief magistrate. Had Garfield recovered, it is undoubted that he would have secured a support such as has been accorded to few incumbents of the office. Among the classics of American literature is the funeral oration which Blaine pronounced, at the request of Congress, on the life and services of the late president.

General Garfield was a man of unusual parts. He had risen to eminence largely by his own efforts, and in early life gave promise of that distinction which he was rapidly to achieve. He was generous in his impulses, impetuous

in temperament, far from puritanical in conduct, and not always sagacious. His severest critics were his most intimate friends, who knew how prone he was to act without deliberation or consultation. As a member of the House of Representatives, his qualities brought him fame, but he had never been trained for executive responsibilities, and it is probable that had he lived peacefully through his administration he would have met many difficulties.

It was unjustly charged against the Conkling wing of the party that its opposition was the origin of the assassination. The charge has long been abandoned, but for the time being it had the effect of retiring many prominent men from leadership in party councils.

When Arthur came to the presidency it was generally expected that Conkling would be the real power behind the throne and would wield the political sceptre of the administration. There is reason to believe that Conkling had some such idea, but he was disappointed. He seems to have demanded a place of high importance in the Cabinet. President Arthur had been a close friend of Conkling, and owed much to him in the past, but he was too much a man to surrender power and keep but the shadow of authority. Conkling's demand, or request, was refused, to the surprise of the whole nation, and thereafter the former senator went into opposition, so far as he could in private life.

The position of Arthur was not unlike that of Johnson some years before. It was impossible that any man could fill the place of one who was deemed a martyr, and particularly a man who was looked upon by many unthinking people as in some degree responsible for the crime. The new president behaved with great dignity and conducted an exceptionally good administration, without receiving anything like the public recognition which his merit deserved. Arthur was a man of fine personal appearance and great dignity of demeanor, and not only well balanced mentally, but unusually able in an executive office. These qualities, however, were not fully recognized until later; and during his term he

suffered from unjust criticism and was denied the renomination which he might possibly have received had he permitted the use of patronage in his own interest as freely as had been the case in the past with other candidates.

Following custom, the Cabinet resigned and was replaced as follows: Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, secretary of state; Charles J. Folger, of New York, secretary of the treasury; Timothy O. Howe, of Wisconsin, postmaster-general; Benjamin Harris Brewster, of Pennsylvania, attorney-general. Lincoln remained in office as secretary of war throughout the term, and two others for a period, when the following changes completed the Cabinet: William E. Chandler, of New Hampshire, secretary of the navy, and Henry M. Teller, of Colorado, secretary of the interior. There were a few other changes near the end of the administration.

During this administration the tariff bill of March 3, 1883, was passed, which became an issue in politics, and is described in a later chapter. At this time occurred that dramatic effort of the *Jeannette* to cruise to the North Pole in the Arctic Ocean through Bering Strait, which resulted in the loss of the vessel and the death of all her crew with the exception of the present Admiral George W. Melville his boat's crew and two individuals. Of this period also was that remarkable Greely relief expedition, which in the very nick of time saved Lieutenant A. W. Greely and most of his men, who were on the verge of starvation at Cape Sabine in Smith Sound after an unsuccessful attempt on the Pole and a retreat in search of vessels which were expected to come to their aid, but whose arrival had been prevented by ice. This expedition was led by the present Admiral Winfield Scott Schley and ably seconded by Melville, fresh from his experiences in the Lena Delta.

The question of the presidential succession had been prominent from the death of Garfield, but, contrary to the usual custom, there were few anxious candidates for the nomination. Events had so changed that Blaine had become

the leading candidate, but he was by this time weary of the competition and really had no desire for more than a complimentary vote at the convention. With singular perception of the future he announced privately to his friends that his opportunity was gone, and he would never be president.

President Arthur was a receptive candidate, and would have liked the honor, but refused to strive for it. In this situation there seemed a good chance for a third candidate and there were a number who were willing. Senators Edmunds, Sherman, and Logan were receptive, but their following was slight and they never had a measurable chance of success. The Republican convention met in Chicago, June 3, 1884, and it was easily seen that the contest lay only between Arthur and Blaine. Arthur had many friends who would have voted for him had they felt any certainty of his election. This seemed doubtful in the disturbed state of party feeling, and was by many considered impossible owing to the fact that Arthur's own State, New York, had recently elected Grover Cleveland governor by the unprecedented majority of almost two hundred thousand over Secretary Folger. This seemed to indicate that the administration could not carry New York in any event and a new candidate was necessary. Blaine was nominated on the fourth ballot, and Senator Logan was named for vice-president.

The feeling among the Republicans was one of mingled elation and uncertainty. They had nominated the most gifted leader of the party, one who might easily have won in 1876 had he then received the nomination which seemed to be in his grasp, one who might have been victorious in 1880 had he captured the nomination. It is strange, in view of the result of the election, that there were so many persons who believed that Blaine could not carry the country or come near doing so, that he was a weak candidate, and that his record was such as to make him vulnerable, no matter how innocent he might be of the charges.

made against him. The situation was made no better by the action of the Democratic convention, which met in Chicago, July 8th, and nominated Governor Cleveland for president and once more Hendricks for vice-president. It is a curious fact that Cleveland was also a reluctant candidate as he doubted the possibility of his own nomination or election. His nomination was effected by the friends of ex-Speaker Randall, who found the Pennsylvanian's candidacy impossible and threw their support to the New York candidate. Randall went to Chicago in person to accomplish this result.

The campaign that ensued was one of unrivalled virulence. Personal scandals concerning the two leading candidates were spread broadcast with the result of disgusting nearly everyone with this sort of campaigning and probably not seriously injuring either candidate in the end. Blaine developed unsuspected strength as a candidate and as a campaigner. His defeat was due to many causes, but primarily to the fact that he had to manage his own campaign, as Jones, of Pittsburg, the nominal chairman of the party, had no experience in politics. Blaine suffered very much as did Henry Clay. When Clay was working for someone else he was well-nigh invincible. In his own behalf he made the most palpable mistakes. Blaine made such mistakes and it is a curious psychological fact that he knew he was making them at the time but seemed unable to resist the pleadings of others.

Outside of New York State all factional differences in the Republican party seemed to have been healed. Blaine stumped the country making a series of brilliant speeches, and ten days before the election his success seemed assured. So thought Blaine whose long experience in campaigning for others led him to believe that he should go home and in confidence await the result. So he would have done, but for the persistent pleadings of Chairman Jones who insisted that he devote some attention to New York. The party treasury was in a depleted condition and Jones had been

obliged to pay out of his own pockets a very large sum which he did not think he could afford. It was necessary to get financiers interested in the Blaine campaign so that the party treasury could be filled. That was the actual reason that led Blaine to violate his determination to go home to Maine. He considered it rash to go to New York, but loyalty forbade that he should refuse when his party manager was in such straits. This situation was not revealed to the public for nearly twenty years.

Two events of that visit were enough to defeat Blaine. A banquet by wealthy men was given in his honor, at which he made a felicitous speech, and it is reported that party contributions followed. Unfortunately for Blaine, opposition newspapers seized on the occasion to make party capital out of it, calling the dinner "Belshazzar's Feast," and insinuating that corruption was involved. Then, at the last moment, a reception was given to Blaine by the clergy, and Dr. Burchard, the oldest member of the delegation, made a speech in which he referred to the Democratic party as one backed by "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion." Blaine's mother was a Catholic and members of that faith had up to this time largely supported the Republican ticket. Whether the candidate did not understand the phrase, or whether he felt it inopportune at the moment to say anything against the charge, it is certain that it resulted in turning many votes from Blaine, who although one of the most liberal of men in religious matters, was now accused of attacking the Roman Catholic faith.

Cleveland, attacked bitterly in the campaign, comported himself with dignity. His campaign was admirably managed and he took no active part in it. Many leading Republicans, including Henry Ward Beecher, supported him, as did *Harper's Weekly* and several other leading journals hitherto Republican. The situation was rendered more complex by the candidacy of General Benjamin F. Butler, candidate of a so-called National party, legatee of the Greenbackers. There was something of burlesque in this movement, which

never reached large proportions, but which was thought by each of the leading parties to work in its own favor. It has been charged by General Butler and others that in New York State thousands of ballots cast for him were really counted for Cleveland.

Election day came, and by midnight the situation seemed to be almost as chaotic as in 1876. The whole election hung on the vote of New York State, and that apparently gave a very small plurality for Cleveland. For some days the result was in doubt, but in the end it was found that Cleveland had won the presidency by the Democratic electoral vote of New York, which had an average majority of some eleven hundred votes. There were many charges and counter charges of fraud made concerning this election, but no official action was taken and no attempt made to prevent Cleveland and Hendricks from taking office. It has been stated by observant Americans and Europeans that the acquiescence of the public in this result was perhaps a greater exhibition of self-control than in the case of the disputed election of 1876.

CHAPTER X

SOME OF THE GREAT STRIKES

THE Hayes administration was scarcely under way when there broke out one of the most serious labor troubles in the history of the country.

The Molly Maguire crimes in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania were the first, as well as in some respects the most serious, events ever known. The organization of Molly Maguires was an imported one, perverted from its original intention and used by the miners in the anthracite region as a means of forwarding their interests. Not all the miners belonged to the order, nor can it be truthfully claimed that all its machinations were evil, but it was made the engine of an extraordinary series of crimes which have had no parallel in this country. The association was active at a time when there was a lack of business organization both among the coal operators and the transportation companies. There were many coal operators who made large profits, and the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company depended on the anthracite trade very largely for its traffic. It was claimed by the miners that they were imposed upon in many ways, that the mine bosses were tyrannical, that the company stores, which they were practically compelled to patronize, made outrageous profits, that the miners were fined unduly for alleged errors, not credited with the amount of coal which they mined, and that proper regulations were not made for their safety while at work. That there was a substratum of truth in these charges is proved by the fact

that practically every evil complained of was later the subject of remedial legislation.

Agitation by the miners in their organization of Molly Maguires was not confined to legal or peaceful means. A reign of terror was inaugurated whereby offending persons were murdered without mercy, though generally after some warning had been sent. Through its numbers the organization became a power in politics, and in several counties practically controlled elections, and indeed almost succeeded in electing its candidate as law judge of the county. Its failure to do so was of importance later. Mine bosses, superintendents, and owners were murdered from time to time, and every possible means of detection seemed to be useless. It was hardly safe for some men to walk the streets, and the danger was all the greater because it was the rule of the organization that any murder determined upon should be performed by men from an entirely different district.

Matters had reached an intolerable stage, when President Franklin B. Gowen, of the Philadelphia and Reading Railway Company, which also controlled a large number of the coal mines, entered into negotiations with the Pinkerton detective agency for aid in ferreting out the criminals. The story of those researches has never been equalled by any romancer. The investigation was conducted entirely by one James McParlan, a detective from Chicago, who, in the guise of a counterfeiter under the name of McKenna, spent several years in the anthracite region, became a member of the Molly Maguires, and was finally the means of bringing a large number of criminals to justice. It had been stipulated on his part that he should not be called upon to testify in the courts; but in the end he waived this, and his appearance on the stand in the trial was the crucial event of the case for the prosecution.

McParlan discovered in his researches that the conspiracy was widespread, but that those who were actually included in the grosser crimes were few in number, since to have

admitted a large number would have more easily led to detection. He worked for three years before he was ready to report, but by this time he was under suspicion, and barely escaped with his life. In all this time he had reported almost daily to his chief, so that when the time was ripe he had plenty of evidence for the authorities. The extraordinary thing is that he should have lived so long among such a class of people and escaped detection. He not only assumed the rôle of a passer of counterfeit money, but his claim of having committed a murder put him in the good graces of the leaders of the organization. As a result of his efforts, nine of the leaders of the Molly Maguires were sentenced to death and many others received long terms of imprisonment.

It cannot be said that this affair had more than local significance, except that for the time being it excited the mass of the people of the country against labor organizations in general; so that very soon, when an extraordinary uprising took place on the railroads, there was withheld much of the sympathy that might have been extended to the strikers under other conditions or at a later time. The conviction of the Molly Maguire leaders in 1876 was still in the public mind when in July, 1877, what is known as "The Great Railway Strike" broke out, and for two weeks was so serious, many thought, as to threaten the existence of the republic.

There had been strikes before, but none so serious as this. Its origin was in a ten per cent cut in the wages of some of the employés of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway. There was an immediate strike of those affected, followed by a sympathetic strike on the part of most of the train and some other employés of the whole road. This soon extended to the Pennsylvania, the Erie, the New York Central lines and their Western connections. Almost at the start the strike was of a militant character. The strikers refused to allow substitutes to work, and began destroying the property of the railways, in the hope of paralyzing traffic

and bringing the officials to terms. While there was violence in many places, the worst troubles were in Philadelphia, Pittsburg, and some points in West Virginia. Soon the strike amounted to an émeute. Many in the laboring classes were thrown out of work by the suspension of traffic, and large numbers flocked to the standards of the strikers, who, in some places, assumed a defiant attitude, burned the property of the railway companies, destroyed the tracks, and defied the authorities in such a manner that the militia was called out. In Philadelphia order was restored with great difficulty, and the local militia was sent to Pittsburg.

At Pittsburg, the greatest freight centre east of Chicago, there was a veritable scene of carnage. The strikers had been assisted by a large number of the proletariat, and the question soon lost its original character and became a contest between the forces of anarchy and those of order. The Philadelphia militia were besieged in a roundhouse, and finally escaped with great difficulty, after suffering many casualties. The property destroyed by the strikers was estimated to be worth three million dollars in Pittsburg alone, which Alleghany County had to pay for its remissness in not keeping order. The losses at other points were less, but heavy, and, on the whole, unparalleled up to that time in any similar disturbance. The New York Central difficulties were early settled by a compromise. The very ferocity of the strikers seemed to bring with it a cure. Calmer counsels among the leaders soon prevailed. At the end of the second week the crisis had passed, and in the third, order was restored. The strike had more of the character of a popular uprising than of a movement with a definite purpose. Only a few of the strikers were actually involved in the reduction of wages, and many of those who stopped work did so through fear rather than from desire. Most of them returned to work in a short time, and traffic resumed its normal proportions.

The strike had, however, lasting results. The railway labor organizations became more conservative, but they

were more firmly established. The railway managers had no desire to suffer a like experience, and, as a result, it became customary for them to make definite contracts with the organizations, so as to prevent any such trouble in the future. So far as the East is concerned, the result has been generally satisfactory to all concerned. There have been few strikes on the railways east of Chicago, and none of national importance, though some have assumed for the moment rather large proportions.

During the strike there were many troubles in the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania and matters there assumed a threatening aspect. The militia was attacked but managed to restore order. The national administration finally sent United States troops to some sections of the West to uphold order which had an immediately pacific result, though by this time the worst was over.

Of succeeding strikes, such as one of locomotive engineers on the Philadelphia and Reading in 1887, and of trainmen on the New York Central in 1889, it is not necessary to speak in detail. Both failed of their immediate object, though it cannot be denied that there was some effect upon the managers of all railways, who continued to prefer to avert trouble rather than meet it.

In April, 1886, scenes somewhat similar to those of 1877 were enacted in the West. The strike directly affected, principally, the Missouri Pacific system, or what are generally termed the Gould lines, but in time it tied up most of the traffic of St. Louis. The controversy arose over the discharge of a workman belonging to a labor organization, on one of the roads, and a refusal by the corporation to reinstate him at the demands of a labor leader. The Knights of Labor, hereafter to be described, were at this time in the zenith of their power. The leaders called for a strike at once, and this was obeyed sufficiently to tie up traffic. At the start it seemed possible that an accommodation might be made but a conflict between deputy sheriffs and strikers in which several were killed, inflamed

the mob, and once more pillage was resorted to. In St. Louis and East St. Louis (Illinois) not only was railway property to the extent of three million dollars destroyed, but the property of private individuals also suffered. The leader in this strike was one Martin Irons, who achieved a notoriety that was extraordinary but fleeting. The radical measures of a few of the strikers and their accomplices were not endorsed by the chiefs of the Knights of Labor, but Irons considered that he had the situation in hand and proposed to carry out his programme regardless of authority of any kind. It is a singular fact that he was able for so long to control so many men under such circumstances, but he did so without difficulty until suddenly his organization collapsed. The strike failed completely, and in this instance the railway managers took measures by which they expected to prevent a recurrence. It was at this time that the "black list" became prominent in the railway world, it being the intention of the managers to prevent any striker who had been a leader in violence from thereafter obtaining employment on any railway in the country. This effort was only partially successful.

Public interest in this strike had not died down before the country was aflame with the Haymarket Riots in Chicago. There had by this time arrived in this country a number of anarchist leaders from Europe who had undertaken to push their propaganda here. In the excitement of the time it was believed that there was a large number of persons in this country banded together to burn, ravage, and destroy property, as well as to attack all constituted authority by assassination, if necessary. It appears now that they made noise out of all proportion to the support which they could possibly claim in any actual programme, but they seemed to think that constitutional liberty of speech in this country meant license to speak without hindrance. There had been some trouble in the East over publications in Anarchist newspapers, over speeches made, and some threats which may or may not have been genuine.

It was not long after the assassination of Garfield and of the Emperor of Russia, and many of the leaders of anarchy in Europe had fled to America for asylum.

The Haymarket meeting in Chicago was called by laboring men to protest against the action of the police and Pinkerton detectives in shooting down some members of a mob during a local strike then in progress to secure an eight-hour working day. The situation up to this time had not been critical, the strikers had been kept in check, and generally were disposed to be peaceable. The meeting passed off for the most part without disorder, and it was nearly over when one speaker, Samuel Fielden, made a tirade against law and order and practically incited the audience to violence. At this point a squad of police appeared and ordered the crowd to disperse. Just then a bomb was thrown out of the crowd which burst among the police, fatally wounding seven and badly injuring many more. With a discipline worthy of veterans in an army, the police closed up their ranks, forced the crowd back and order was soon restored.

The excitement following this event was intense the country over. It was totally different from anything that had happened before or had been expected, and its importance was greatly magnified. It was believed that there was an enormous aggregation of anarchists in the United States. Many conservative men seemed crazed with fear, stocks fell, and the wildest demands urged punishment for every expression against law and order. The courts of Chicago acted promptly. Seven of the ringleaders were sentenced to death. One committed suicide, two of those convicted were reprieved to the extent of being given life sentences, while one other originally received a life sentence. One of the most important of the alleged conspirators, the man who is believed to have thrown the bomb, escaped from the country.

Later, some doubt has been expressed as to whether the men hanged were actually guilty of participation to the full extent claimed by the prosecution, and many conservative

men have felt that there was more anger than justice shown toward some of them. The point made is that some of the men were not shown to be guilty of any overt act, but only of sympathy with resistance to the laws. Still the time seemed ripe to establish law and order on a permanent footing and the convictions were generally applauded. It is a strange commentary upon the state of feeling throughout the country that as the day of execution neared, there was apprehension that there might be a tremendous outburst by anarchists which would rock the republic to its centre. The stock markets were nervous, and seldom, in times of peace, have the people shown a greater sense of relief than when the executions took place without the slightest attempt at violence.

Seven years later Governor Altgeld, of Illinois, pardoned the anarchists who had been sent to jail, as a result, so it was claimed, of a political deal made with their friends and sympathizers before his election. These pardons aroused intense opposition throughout the country and closed the political career of the governor.

This same Governor Altgeld had an experience of his own with a strike in which, in an unexpected and sensational manner, he came into conflict with the Federal authorities. The last of the great railway strikes took place in Chicago in 1894, and was primarily directed against the Pullman Palace Car Company in an effort to enforce some demands made in the construction shops of the company, near Chicago. The strike extended until it was taken up by most of the trainmen of the lines entering Chicago, and for a few days the scenes of previous years at St. Louis and Pittsburg were repeated. The leader in this strike was Eugene V. Debs, later a Socialist candidate for president. Although the labor leaders of the country counselled moderation and reproved violence, it was not long before the mob began to destroy property by wholesale. A large number of cars was burned, attempts were made to wreck trains, and the strike extended over a considerable portion

of the West, without, however, assuming in any place such extraordinary proportions as in Chicago and nearby towns. When the destruction of property was at its height, when Governor Altgeld seemed in sympathy with the strikers, and it appeared that the local authorities could not or would not cope with the situation, President Cleveland, at the suggestion of a Chicago judge, who could not enforce an injunction he had issued, solved the problem by sending United States troops to the scene of action, primarily to protect the mails of the government. After this action, against which Governor Altgeld and the labor leaders protested vigorously, there was little violence offered, and in a few days the strike was ended.

Out of this strike grew many bitter contentions, not only as to problems involving labor and capital, but as to the right of a president to interfere "in the domestic concerns of a State." There were many persons who thought that in the beginning the Pullman Company officials acted with unnecessary rigor, and that the troubles might have been averted by a resort to arbitration. However, when the situation reached one of actual violence, there was little sympathy with those concerned in overt acts. It was a time of great financial depression, and, whether the contention of the company or that of the workmen was correct, it caused an immense agitation throughout the country, and was generally claimed as a leading factor in promoting radical action at some of the succeeding national conventions.

President Cleveland defended his action with dignity, and some ten years later published an account of the affair, in which he discussed with great detail the constitutional question involved and apparently to the satisfaction of the generality of the people. But a majority of Americans were pleased when he issued the original order.

Mention must also be made of an industrial strike which preceded the one at Chicago, and which had a momentous effect upon current politics. In 1892 the country seemed in a more prosperous condition than ever before, and it

seemed to Republicans that their policies of protection and resumption must result in an endorsement at the polls. In the month of July there occurred a strike at Homestead, Pennsylvania, which is considered to have been one of the great determining factors in the defeat of President Harrison for reëlection. Pittsburg had long been a great centre for the manufacture of iron and steel, and the Carnegie works at Homestead and other nearby towns were considered the best in the world. By energy, intelligence, and under the fostering care of protection, the iron and steel industries had generally developed rapidly, but nowhere was there such perfection of mechanical and personal skill as at the Carnegie mills. It was a saying of Carnegie that the ironmaster was either a prince or a pauper. This strike happened at a time of great prosperity in the industry, though already were felt some of the signs of coming disaster, which arrived in the following year. A reduction in wages in some departments was decided on, and in the face of a strike a shut down was ordered. The company had determined to reopen with non-union labor only. Hitherto there had been regular agreements with the unions from time to time, and the company asserted that the exactions of the men were to a large extent unjust.

Knowing that the effort to reopen the mills with new men would meet with opposition, the company made a sort of barricade around its property at Homestead, and determined to send a large force of Pinkerton detectives to be placed inside as guards. Carnegie was in Europe, and the executive management fell upon H. C. Frick. Fearing to send the men by train, he loaded a barge with some two hundred of the Pinkerton men and engaged a steamboat to tow it up the river during the night to the Homestead works, which were on the river bank. News of this action was sent to the workmen at Homestead by agents in Pittsburg, and they prepared to resist. When the barge arrived at Homestead the Carnegie works were in the hands of a well-armed mob, who resisted every attempt to land the detectives. Workmen lay behind piles of steel and poured volleys into

the Pinkertons for hours. Efforts at resistance were of little use, and finally the Pinkertons, having lost seven of their men, were obliged to surrender, give up their arms, and retire once more to Pittsburg. Eleven of the workmen had been killed, but the casualties had in no wise weakened their position.

The situation was extraordinary. Here were men in control of property not their own, shooting down the agents of the owners and practically establishing a condition of anarchy. The excitement caused by this act was intense, but the authorities were slow to act. Governor Pattison, of Pennsylvania, vacillated for a long time, and then called out the militia, which arrived promptly on the scene and restored order. In spite of the fact that the workmen had acted without warrant, there was at this time not only much sympathy with their position, if not with their acts, but there were not a few who openly defended resistance to the employers on the ground that the corporation had been fostered by legislation, was making vast sums of money, especially out of government contracts, and that it was morally criminal for them to have cut wages, and then throw out of employment men who had no other place in which to earn a living. Rather extravagant language to this effect was used on the floor of Congress. Much of this sympathy was dissipated when a few days later an anarchist shot Frick in Pittsburg and nearly killed him. The man had no connection with the strikers, but his act was attributed to the excitement caused by the workmen, and they received much blame in the matter.

Eventually the situation became normal. There was an investigation by Congress, and, though the committee was politically hostile to the corporation, it discovered a different state of affairs from what it had expected. There were workmen in the mills whose wages were greater than the salary of a member of Congress. It was found that the rate of compensation, except for unskilled labor, was unusually high, and would have been high even after the contemplated

reduction. This report figured in the next tariff bill, which was passed by the Democratic party.

In many respects the most important strike in the country was that in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania in 1902. There have been many strikes in every coal field of the country, but none approaching this in important features. The bituminous fields in the South, in Pennsylvania, and in the West, have been the scene of strikes notable for their length, for the bitterness displayed on both sides, and for destruction of property and loss of life. In many of these cases the militia had been called into service. In the gold mining regions of the West there have been notable controversies which have sometimes reached alarming proportions. In the Cœur d'Alène region in 1899, and in Colorado in 1903-1904, the struggle was prolonged with great bitterness, but in all these cases amicable solutions were reached, or one contending party wore the other out, or produced a compromise.

The situation in the anthracite fields was different. There had been many strikes there of a more or less local character, and in 1900 a rather prolonged struggle which was general. But the hardest struggle came in May, 1902, when practically every colliery in the anthracite region suspended work and a hard coal famine was produced. This strike was the more serious since in that region is produced virtually the world's anthracite. This sort of coal is used almost exclusively for domestic purposes East of the Mississippi and to a large extent for manufacturing. A cessation of supply meant not only distress to millions of families but great interference with manufacturing establishments which with difficulty changed their grates so as to use bituminous coal. The situation was further complicated by the fact that in many cities the use of the latter was prohibited because of the annoyance due to its smoke.

The leader of the miners was John Mitchell, who conducted the strike with great ability, while President Baer, of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad and of the Reading

Coal and Iron Company, was the recognized leader of the coal operators. By this time most of the anthracite mines were owned by a few railroads, which were thus able to present a firm organization against that of the miners. The strike began quietly, and at no time were there scenes of violence as on former occasions. The controversy settled down practically to a test of endurance, and had no other factor been involved it would have continued until one side had succumbed. A compromise was reached through Federal interference, a circumstance unprecedented in history.

The country was electrified by the announcement in October that President Roosevelt had suggested to both parties in interest that all the matters in controversy be submitted to an impartial board of arbitration. This was accepted gladly by the miners and with some hesitation on the part of the anthracite operators. It seemed to many that there was no occasion for Federal interference, and that there was neither law nor precedent to warrant such action on the part of the president. The situation, however, had become almost unbearable to the public. There was little anthracite to be secured at any cost, while what was available realized enormous prices. It was evident that the public would suffer terribly unless some compromise was made, and President Roosevelt was backed up by public opinion in taking the stand he did. It was agreed that the men should go back to work at the old rate of wages, and that the settlement, whatever it might be, should be operative as of the date of reopening the mines.

The commission which was to undertake this weighty problem consisted of Judge George Gray, of Delaware, of the Federal Circuit Court; Bishop Spalding, of Illinois; E. E. Clark, of the Order of Railway Conductors; General John M. Wilson, a distinguished engineer of the army; Carroll D. Wright, of the Census Bureau, and a noted statistician; E. W. Parker, a railway conductor; and T. H. Watkins, a coal operator.

This body was supposed to include every possible interest of labor, invested capital, technical skill, and society at large. The questions to be settled were those of wages, mine management, and of trades unionism, the latter being considered of eminent importance, though not all the strikers belonged to labor organizations.

The commission met in many places, held long hearings, and finally gave its decision early in 1903, which, though a compromise, seemed generally to favor the men. There was severe criticism of the conduct and practices of both parties in interest. The decision provided for a flat increase of wages, a further increase based on the selling price of coal in New York harbor, the recognition of the right of miners to form a union, though operators were not to be compelled to use union labor exclusively, and the agreement was to last for three years. Boards of arbitration were established to settle controversies arising out of any difficulty in interpreting the settlement. The result was generally accepted as fair by the country, though on both sides it was looked upon as temporary, and at the time of this writing (December, 1905) conferences are being held to determine whether a new basis shall be arranged or whether another strike shall take place.

CHAPTER XI

ADMINISTRATIONS OF CLEVELAND AND HARRISON

THE election of Cleveland to the presidency was notable not only because of the close margin by which he won, but because he was the first Democratic chief magistrate to be chosen in almost a generation. The bitterness of the campaign was in some respects unprecedented, and the narrowness of the victory seemed to give especial anguish to the heart of the party which had been so long dominant. It is a striking commentary upon the temperament of democracy that there were not a few men of age experience and supposed wisdom who looked upon the event as little less than a national calamity. At that time most of the men dominant in all parties were still those who had come into power during the Civil War, and there had been a general willingness to permit the issues of that conflict to remain in politics. This was not in all respects logical, but it accorded with human nature.

The joy of the Democratic party was as intense as the gloom of the Republican party, and yet both were destined to modify their views. The country survived the change of administration without a shock, and it was a remarkable tribute to the stability of the republic and to the underlying conservatism of the people that such was the case. It has been observed of democracies that they are, as a rule, unstable; and while there have been many exhibitions of temperament on the part of the people of the United States, they have shown their ability to maintain self-control under all circumstances.

Cleveland's position as an executive was somewhat difficult, because, although the House of Representatives was of his own party faith, the Senate was Republican. At the outset it was assumed that the majority in the Senate would undertake a programme of obstruction which would lead to nullifying many acts of the president. There were some radical Republicans who thought that by refusing to confirm nominations and by using other partisan tactics Republican ascendancy could practically be maintained. But this policy was not undertaken except in a few extreme cases that were less notable than some that had occurred under the Republican administrations. The leaders of the Senate announced that the will of the people had been expressed and would be recognized in every legitimate manner. In consequence, there was as little friction as reasonably could have been expected, though naturally no partisan legislation was passed through Congress.

Cleveland chose for his Cabinet: Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware, secretary of state; Daniel Manning, of New York, secretary of the treasury; William C. Endicott, of Massachusetts, secretary of war; Lucius Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi, secretary of the interior; William C. Whitney, of New York, secretary of the navy; William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, postmaster-general; and Augustus H. Garland, of Arkansas, attorney-general. In the closing weeks of this administration the Department of Agriculture was created, and for a few weeks Norman J. Coleman, of Missouri, a former bureau chief, had a seat in the Cabinet.

This Cabinet was an able one, containing men of political experience who represented all sections of the country and of the party. It is the general belief that if Cleveland had listened to the counsel of these men he would have been re-elected in 1888. It soon appeared that there was a lack of harmony between the president and Manning, whose health was failing, and he was succeeded in 1887 by Charles S. Fairchild, also of New York. In 1888 Lamar was given a seat on the Supreme Bench. He was

succeeded by Vilas, and the latter by Don M. Dickinson, of Michigan.

Under the circumstances arising out of a politically divided Congress, the activities of the president were largely confined to administrative details and non-partisan legislation. One of the issues of the campaign had been reform in the civil service, which Cleveland had warmly endorsed, and for which reason he received support from a large number of those who had previously been Republicans. The subject had been more or less under discussion for three generations. The debauchery of the civil service for partisan ends was first made prominent by Andrew Jackson and had been continued more or less ever since. There were a number of Federal employés who served through various administrations undisturbed, but the doctrine that the spoils belong to the victors was generally acted upon not only when there was a change of party control, but at every incoming administration, regardless of politics. The dominant faction generally considered itself entitled to dispense the patronage and usually succeeded in doing so.

General Grant had made some feeble efforts at civil service reform, General Hayes had done something by administrative order, but the basis of the present national system is the law of 1883, commonly known from its author as the Pendleton Bill. This passed Congress with slight opposition. It places the administration of the service almost entirely in the hands of the president, who acts through a non-partisan civil service commission. President Arthur at once began the work of organizing the service, and its provisions have been extended by every successive president. It was not at first popular, but, as years pass, it grows more and more in favor, notwithstanding the occasional indifference of presidents to the spirit of the law.

Under Cleveland the construction of the new navy, which had been authorized and commenced under the preceding administration, was vigorously advanced. America had lagged behind the nations of Europe in naval reconstruction largely

through a belief that the country was never likely to engage in a foreign war, while another domestic conflict was deemed impossible. The work of rehabilitation was hampered by the fact that the United States had constructed so few vessels, except for interior or coastwise trade, that there was but a small body of naval architects and that plans had to be purchased abroad. Eventually this country not only designed but constructed some of the largest and most efficient war vessels afloat. Cleveland aroused great opposition among veterans of the Civil War by vetoing a large number of pension bills, and by proposing to return to the Southern States the captured Confederate battle flags.

The administration of Cleveland was dignified. He did not, of course, suit the radical members of either party but he established a reputation for integrity and conservatism, as well as for dogged persistence. His renomination was inevitable but he failed of reëlection largely through his own act. He devoted his entire annual message of 1887 to the tariff, declaring protection to be robbery of the people for the benefit of a few manufacturers. This was an extraordinary document, and it was issued in spite of the protest of his closest advisers. The tariff of 1883 suited no one. The law was illogical in details and full of discriminating inequalities. Nevertheless, the temper of the time was against the abolition of the protective principle and Cleveland was unmeasured in his assertion that there should be a tariff for revenue only, with the most incidental protection to laborers. Many of the president's warmest supporters felt that he had blundered in making the tariff issue so prominent, but he would not abandon his ground.

He was renominated unanimously. Hendricks was dead, so that a new candidate for vice-president was necessary. Senator Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, was chosen. The declaration of the platform on the tariff was in accord with the president's policy as indicated in his late message.

The Republican nominations were made after a great deal of uncertainty. There was a general desire that Blaine

should once more be a candidate. This position he had positively refused but still there was a hope up to the eve of the convention that he might be prevailed upon to accept a nomination which would come to him with little opposition. He persisted in his declination, and the choice of a candidate proved difficult. There were a number of receptive candidates, but when the convention met at Chicago, June 19, 1888, none had a commanding lead. Senator Sherman was once more a candidate and for a long time had the largest following, but there was no enthusiasm over his candidacy. His following was among the business men of the country who recognized his great services to the country in the Senate and as secretary of the treasury. General Walter Q. Gresham, of Indiana, had a small but rather aggressive following. Chauncey M. Depew, of New York, had some Eastern support outside his own State, but never was seriously considered by the convention. General Russell A. Alger, of Michigan, had some delegates from the South in addition to those of his own State. Another candidate from Indiana was General Benjamin Harrison, a man who had distinguished himself in military and civil life, a grandson of a former president. The contest was a serious one and the claims of every contestant were scrutinized carefully, the delegates being anxious only for success. The choice finally fell upon General Harrison, who was nominated on the eighth ballot. Levi P. Morton, of New York, was nominated for vice-president. The platform was strongly in favor of protection to American industries and labor.

The campaign which followed differed greatly from that of 1884. Personalities were little dwelt on, and the issue was largely made on the tariff. Cleveland lost the State of New York by some thirteen thousand votes, and thereby his reelection. He exhibited no signs of chagrin, maintained that his policy was correct, and that he would rather lose by standing true to what he considered correct principles than win by ignoring or dodging the true issue. At the same

election the Republicans carried the House of Representatives by a very narrow margin, which they enlarged by unseating a number of Democrats who had *prima facie* rights to seats.

In many qualities and characteristics Harrison resembled Cleveland: both were of serious purpose, of unquestioned integrity, and neither had much personal magnetism; though both had seen some experience in public life, neither was a practical politician, and both were perfectly willing to offend party friends if necessary to carry out what they considered proper policies; both were commonly accounted stubborn. The defeat of each for reelection was in some measure due to estrangement from party leaders.

The Harrison Cabinet was a body of strong men. It contained James G. Blaine, of Maine, secretary of state; William Windom, of Minnesota, secretary of the treasury; Redfield Proctor, of Vermont, secretary of war; John W. Noble, of Missouri, secretary of the interior; Benjamin F. Tracy, of New York, secretary of the navy; Jeremiah M. Rusk, of Wisconsin, secretary of agriculture; John Wanamaker, of Pennsylvania, postmaster-general; William H. H. Miller, of Indiana, attorney-general. Most of these men had experience in the public service, except Wanamaker, and Miller was the personal friend of the president.

The Cabinet was organized with considerable difficulty, owing to the conflicting claims of party leaders who found the president less inclined to take advice than they had expected. The campaign had been one of great earnestness on both sides. The Republican national chairman was Senator Matthew S. Quay, of Pennsylvania, who had pushed the tariff issue to the front and had spent an immense sum in a campaign of education. Among his advisers were Marcus A. Hanna, of Ohio, and John Wanamaker, of Pennsylvania. The latter had rendered conspicuous service in collecting party funds, and Quay insisted that he be given a Cabinet position. At the very last moment the president desired to omit him from the list, but finally consented to name him.

Quay felt that he was entitled to great consideration because he had been the official head of the party. On his first meeting with Harrison after the election, the latter rather chilled him by expressing warm thanks to Providence for accomplishing the victory. Soon the relations between the president and Quay became estranged. Wanamaker supported the president.

Leading Republicans were anxious to secure the secretaryship of the treasury for a New York man, but to this the president would not listen. Senator Platt, once more the leader of the Republican forces in New York, was obliged to be content with dominating influence in the navy department. Altogether the Cabinet did not represent great political strength in spite of the ability of its members. Blaine was the most conspicuous member. Secretary Winder died in 1891, and was succeeded by Charles Foster, of Ohio, whose appointment was a further disappointment to Platt. Throughout most of the administration the president was not in close harmony with the leaders of his party.

When the House of Representatives met in December, 1889, there was great difficulty in carrying on business. Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, was elected Speaker, but the Republican majority was small. It was seldom that an actual voting quorum of Republican members could be maintained, as the Democratic members exercised the right then recognized of refusing to answer the roll call. When a deadlock in legislation was at last threatened, Speaker Reed took the unusual ground that he could use his eyes as well as his ears in deciding whether a quorum was present. This "counting a quorum" aroused the most determined opposition on the part of the minority, and the Speaker was assailed with virulence by party leaders and the party press throughout the country. The Speaker was termed a "czar"; but he persisted in his contention, and, when by unseating some Democratic members the Republican majority became more effective, rules of procedure were enacted which expressly authorized the course which the Speaker had taken.

In spite of the protest made against these "Reed Rules" by the minority, the Democrats left them substantially the same when they regained control of the House. That body had become so large as no longer to be a deliberate assembly, and it was deemed wise to maintain those "rules which did business." They were as advantageous to one party as to the other, and have met general approval in principle even if not in detail. Later, the Supreme Court, in a test case, sustained the constitutionality of the Speaker's position.

William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio, who had aspired to be Speaker, was made chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means which reported the tariff bill bearing his name. While temporarily that law seemed to injure his political fortunes, eventually it was a leading factor in securing him the presidency. The new tariff bill was passed in 1890, and was at once, as well as two years later, apparently repudiated by the people.

Radical Republicans were at this time anxious to pass a Federal election bill of great stringency, which would have put the practical control of elections in the Southern States in the hands of the dominant political party. The bill was urged by many who considered that the negro vote in the South, assumed to be unanimously Republican, had been suppressed by violence and fraud, and that there could be no true republic unless complete liberty of the franchise was guaranteed, in accordance with the spirit of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. There were others who favored the bill because they thought it would ensure continued Republican national control. Some Republican leaders, however, doubted both the wisdom of the bill and its political expediency. They had no wish to arouse antagonisms, and, though these conservatives were probably in the minority, they succeeded in indefinitely postponing action on what was termed a "Force Bill," and, as part of a compromise, Democratic senators did not unduly delay the passage of the tariff bill.

Those who were disappointed in the hope of gaining Republican ascendancy in the Southern States felt some compensation in the admission of six new Western States, which were confidently looked upon as Republican. These States were North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington, admitted in 1889, and Idaho and Wyoming in the next year. Although the population of some of these States was small, all were growing, and, in the case of at least three, statehood could scarcely be longer denied on any just consideration. Unfortunately, the confidence of Republicans was not fully justified, for in the ensuing political alignment due to financial questions some of these States went into opposition, and the Republican party made no valuable gain in the electoral vote of 1892 through the six new daughters.

Foreign affairs were handled very ably by Blaine. It was through his insistence that reciprocity was made a leading feature of the new tariff bill, and he expected much more important results from the establishment of this principle than were achieved during the brief life of the law. His mind had long been set on securing closer trade relations with South America. A Pan-American Congress met at Washington, and representatives were present from all the Spanish-American States. Blaine presided, and in every way endeavored to make this congress the beginning of a new movement in the foreign trade of the United States. The body contained many men of distinction, and the proceedings were generally characterized by enthusiasm. Blaine advocated the construction of a railway that should connect the United States with all Central and South American countries; the establishment in these countries of American banks with liberal charters; and the granting of Federal subsidies to steamship lines which would undertake to engage regularly and actively in trade with Central and South American ports.

Although these measures were generally approved in Central and South America, actual results were not immediate

or important. A preliminary survey was made for a railway which has never been more than a mere project; the subsidies provided for the steamship lines have been insufficient to stimulate business, and no foreign bank law was passed. A Bureau of American Republics was established, which has for its chief purpose the dissemination of information, but the dream of closer relations has been achieved only in slight measure. Blaine was perfectly conscious of the difficulties in the way and familiar with the history of similar attempts, which had always failed, but he thought concerted action would achieve much that was desirable for all. It is one of the anomalies of history that although for almost a century the United States has been the self-constituted protector of the Central and South American republics, and has not only on many occasions interfered to prevent what the nation considered European injustice, but by her known policy has made other efforts of the kind too dangerous to attempt—although, in short, the United States has acted as a sort of “big brother” to all the other American republics, she has been able to get only little trade from them, and, in general, but little sympathy. While the United States is obliged to make heavy purchases of coffee, wool, and hides in South America, that continent buys chiefly in Europe.

Indeed, Blaine was soon to find how little the friendship of the United States was prized. During one of the frequent revolutions in Chile, some revolutionists loaded the steamer *Itata* with what the Chilean authorities officially complained were military supplies to be used against their government. Accordingly, the United States marshal served formal notice on the *Itata*’s captain in the harbor of San Diego, California, where the vessel lay, that his ship must be considered in custody until the subject was investigated. The next day, May 7, 1891, in defiance of this injunction, the *Itata* put to sea. This was a grave offence. The administration acted promptly, sending the cruiser *Charleston* after the truant, but the latter was voluntarily surrendered in the harbor of Iquique. The administration made preparations

to uphold national honor in this matter as well as in others connected with the revolution, but, fortunately, actual force was not used. In the shifting fortunes of war, it was with difficulty that the nation maintained diplomatic relations. The American embassy was violated, and at one time there were many American war vessels in Chilean ports, or near at hand, ready to take prompt action. In October, two American seamen on shore leave were murdered in Valparaiso by a mob, but finally all matters in dispute were arranged and the war cloud disappeared.

The most embarrassing situation that the administration had to face arose out of the murder of eight Italians by a mob in New Orleans. There were many Italians located in that city, some being of the worst type. Members of an Italian secret society known as the "Mafia" had been guilty of many crimes, and the society was looked upon as an organization used by local politicians in a way that interfered with the proper administration of justice. The eight Italians were in jail, awaiting trial on a second indictment, after having been acquitted on the first. This acquittal aroused public sentiment, as belief in the guilt of the men was general. A mob broke into the jail and killed eight, of whom some, possibly, were entirely innocent persons. Naturally, the Italian government protested, since the outrage was in gross violation of fundamental law as well as of treaty stipulations.

As the affair was a purely local one, there was no way in which the Federal government could interfere, and Blaine was not only embarrassed at the demands of the Italian government for prompt reparation, but irritated by the terms in which they were expressed. He answered with dignity and spirit, apologizing, but explaining the legal status of the affair. While it may be assumed that the Italian authorities were perfectly familiar with the general outlines of the Federal government of the United States, they either did not understand the Constitution as applied to this case or refused to accept the statements of Blaine.

It was charged that both countries were trying to make some political capital out of the affair. The Italian minister withdrew from Washington, but eventually the United States paid an indemnity, and amicable relations were restored.

Blaine once more attempted a settlement of the troubous fishing rights off Newfoundland and succeeded in getting a *modus vivendi*, which, with some modifications, exists at this time. In the matter of the Bering Sea seal fisheries he was not so successful. The chief asset in Alaska was then the seal fisheries of the Pribyloff Islands, which America had taken over after the purchase from Russia. The exclusive contract for capturing a limited number of seals was awarded to an American corporation, which soon complained that Canadian vessels cruised in the neighborhood of the islands and killed so many seals that the American concession was becoming unprofitable; and the extinction of the entire herd probable. There arose the delicate question of property in these seals, which led to many diplomatic passages at arms without having been entirely settled up to this time. While diplomats were arguing and making temporary regulations, the greater number of the seals were killed, and by arrangement between the two governments sealing is practically suspended.

Two notable disasters occurred at the opening of the Harrison administration. For some years there had been trouble over the political situation in the Samoan Islands. There was some commerce in the islands, particularly with German and British firms, but America's interest was largely in having a safe harbor in that quarter of the globe. The natives were in a state of savagery and it seemed doubtful whether there was any actual authority with which treaties could be made, owing to rivalries between various chiefs. In the winter of 1888-1889 the situation arising out of the conflicting claims of the United States, Germany, and Great Britain as to rights in the islands had become so acute that each of these nations sent war vessels there. On March 15th, while these vessels—three German, three

American, and one British—lay in the harbor of Upolu, near Apia, a typhoon of extraordinary force arose which drove all the vessels on the rocks except the British, which managed to put to sea. A large number of German and American sailors were drowned, but what stirred the American people was the gallant conduct of their seamen in this time of peril. As the British ship passed out to sea, the Americans, facing death, gave a hearty cheer, and their admiral, in the last extremity, called the band on deck, and his own vessel struck the rocks to the tune of the national anthem. This calamity thrust aside the diplomatic question for the time, but more than ten years later an agreement was made for the partition of the islands, under conditions that conserved the rights of the natives.

The second disaster was nearer home. On the night of May 31st, of the same year, a dam that held back an immense body of the water of the South Fork of Conemaugh River in Western Pennsylvania burst. The water rushed down the narrow valley of the Conemaugh, sweeping everything before it for miles. The débris was caught by the stone railway bridge of the Pennsylvania Railroad in the heart of the thriving manufacturing city of Johnstown and the waters backed up until the buildings in the centre of the town were almost completely submerged. Meanwhile, fire broke out and destroyed many others. There had been little or no warning of the disaster, and the loss of life and property was immense, greater, in fact, considered together, than in any other catastrophe experienced in America. While the exact number of deaths is not known, it exceeded three thousand five hundred, and the property loss was more than ten million dollars. An appeal was made for aid, and in a short time the contributions reached three million dollars, including sums from nearly every civilized nation in the world. Almost at the same time there were disastrous floods and fires elsewhere in Pennsylvania, and some of the relief was apportioned to sufferers therefrom. When in 1892 there was a famine in Russia, America reciprocated

by sending money and shiploads of provisions, Pennsylvania in gratitude sending liberally out of her abundance.

Although throughout the administration of Harrison unusual prosperity seemed to be general, the Congressional elections in 1890 were overwhelmingly against the Republican party. This was laid by some party leaders to the fact that the new tariff law was not understood, and hope was expressed that two years more of experience would bring about its popular endorsement. General Harrison had been from the beginning of his term a candidate for renomination, but he met with opposition from many party leaders, particularly those who had been foremost in party management at the time of his first nomination and election. These resolved, if possible, to defeat the president's ambitions. The Republican convention was held at Minneapolis, June 7, 1892, and Harrison was nominated on the first ballot, though not until after a desperate struggle had taken place. The opposition settled on Blaine as a candidate, but for a time he was unwilling to be considered. On the eve of the convention he curtly resigned from the Harrison Cabinet. The decision of the convention was seen to rest mainly upon the contesting delegations, principally from Southern States. Opponents of Harrison claimed that Federal office holders had used their power to secure delegates against the wishes of the rank and file of the party. Practically every contest was decided in favor of the Harrison forces, and the president was renominated on the first ballot after an unsuccessful move had been made by some anti-Harrison leaders to stampede the convention to William McKinley, who received about the same vote as Blaine.

The Democratic convention which met, June 21st, in Chicago, nominated Grover Cleveland on the first ballot in face of the protest of the New York delegation, whose candidate was David B. Hill, of their State. This result was largely achieved by the political strategy of Whitney, former secretary of the navy.

The campaign which ensued was dignified but listless compared with that which had preceded it. Many of the former leaders of the Republican party took little active part, but what brought about Harrison's defeat was the heavy defection to the People's party, whose candidate was James B. Weaver. He received over a million votes, the largest recorded for any third party. Most of these were drawn from the Republican party and in critical States. While Cleveland's electoral majority was large, the vote in many States for electors was so close that a change of forty thousand, properly distributed, would have resulted in a victory for President Harrison. The House of Representatives chosen at this time was also Democratic, and the State elections resulted in a Democratic Senate at the time of Cleveland's second inauguration.

It has been noted elsewhere that the Homestead riots figured in this campaign because of their bearing on the subject of protection. On its face the Democratic victory was so overwhelming that to many it seemed as if there was little likelihood of the Republican party getting control in the near future.



CHAPTER XII

DEVELOPMENT OF RAILWAYS

THE thread of this narrative must be dropped for the moment to consider some unusual developments in the social and commercial world. It is admitted that the greatest single factor which has brought about the extraordinary agricultural and industrial development of the United States has been the rapid extension of systems of transportation and particularly of the railways. It is the common boast of the American people that they have a railway mileage almost equal to that of the rest of the world, but it should be remembered in this connection that comparison must also be made with area and population, in which case their supreme position is not so conspicuous.

Beginning with the construction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway in 1828, which is generally considered the real start of American railway construction, although short lines had been previously constructed, progress was for some years slow. Engineers had not learned much about the possibilities of their profession, capital for such purposes was raised with difficulty, and, under the conditions then existing, economic operation was not easy. By 1850 only nine thousand miles of railway had been constructed, and not one of the lines was three hundred miles long. In 1851 the Erie Railroad, from the waters of New York Bay to Buffalo, was completed, and this was looked upon as the greatest enterprise in the history of the country, with which only the Erie Canal could be compared.

Already, great plans had been made for constructing canals, for which States had given or promised aid, but with the development of the railway most of these undertakings were abandoned and the support turned to the iron highway. Although State aid was necessary, it was not always given with discretion, nor without scandal. Many enterprises were undertaken, only to fail, and in some cases the States became saddled with debt which took years to extinguish.

The imagination of the people was excited by the possibilities of quick transportation, and there came a sudden expansion in speculation, particularly in railway shares, which was one of the factors in the panic of 1857. This retarded construction somewhat, but by 1861 there were over thirty-one thousand miles in operation, and in the Civil War the use of railways for military purposes was on an unprecedented scale. During the War, construction was largely curtailed, but in 1866 there were almost thirty-seven thousand miles, and in 1870 almost fifty-three thousand. Mention has been made already of the construction of the first transcontinental line, completed in 1869, which was the first of what may be termed the large railway systems of America. This practically closed the old era of building short independent lines between cities, involving enormous waste of time and money in transferring freight and passengers. Under such conditions a trip between Chicago and New York involved almost a dozen changes of cars and much loss of time, due to the fact that the time tables of the various lines were not always arranged to allow of close connections. Even after a tolerable system of time tables was arranged, it was seldom satisfactory, since, under existing conditions, time was frequently lost in running trains and close connections were often impossible.

Cornelius Vanderbilt, who had amassed a fortune in domestic and foreign steamship transportation, turned his attention to railways and planned a line from New York to Chicago under a single ownership and management. Simple as this seems in a later day, it was an enterprise calling not

only for a great deal of money, but for special abilities of the highest kind. At first the stockholders of the individual lines opposed consolidation, and State legislation was in some instances necessary to accomplish it; moreover, local opposition at terminal points of the short lines was often bitter. Consolidation was accomplished by 1868, and from that day the combination of lines into large systems has proceeded, though the movement took twenty years to acquire great momentum.

In bringing about this and other consolidations, there were many scandals which attracted popular attention and in some cases led to legislative action. The Baltimore and Ohio was the longest of the lines constructed by a single organization, and it in time secured terminals at St. Louis and Chicago. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company, which had originally been largely a State undertaking, extended its lines to the same cities; and by combinations of shorter lines, there were in ten years six so-called trunk lines doing through business from Chicago and the Mississippi to the Atlantic seaboard.

The experience of the Erie is the most dramatic in the whole history of railroading. No sooner had the road been completed than it became prominent in the speculative market. After the War, the road had come into the control of Daniel Drew, Jay Gould, James Fisk, and a few others, who entered upon an astounding career of railway finance. In early days, legislation in favor of railways was liberal, and the great speculators of Wall Street managed to get through legislatures acts which, though apparently innocent on their face, gave great latitude in operations of an immoral character, even if legal. Speculation in Erie stock was conducted on a scale hitherto unprecedented. It was during and just after the War that bold financiers created what were known as "corners," which have become notable features of speculation in many commodities. The process of secretly getting control of a majority of the stock in a road, and by manipulation inducing speculators to sell

what it was impossible for them to deliver, was not a new invention; but Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt developed it to unheard-of proportions in this country, and there were other leaders in the speculative market, including those named as in control of the Erie, who became apt pupils.

It was a favorite custom to put the price of Erie stock up and down by secret manipulation to the profit of those in control, and necessarily to the loss of their opponents. When the New York Stock Exchange became too rigid for them, these men seceded and founded a new exchange in which Erie was the predominant factor. This exchange was nothing but an immense gambling house in which there was no pretense that intrinsic values played a dominant part in prices.

Commodore Vanderbilt desired to get control of the Erie and undertook one of his "corners"; in this he scored one of the few financial failures of his life. Some of the legislation already mentioned empowered managers of the Erie to issue stock to an almost unlimited amount. This was accomplished in connection with a small road acquired for the purpose. Under such circumstances the Vanderbilt effort to get control of Erie and force the stock to an exorbitant price was useless, since the Erie managers whom he was fighting could furnish a practically unlimited supply. Vanderbilt applied to the courts and secured an injunction against the issue of more stock, but Gould, Drew, and Fisk fled to New Jersey, violated the injunction, and maintained themselves for days in a hotel completely cut off from the outside world. In the end a compromise was made, but thereafter the manipulation of Erie and of other stocks was less easy, since the public had become suspicious of roads in control of a small coterie with such extraordinary powers.

Since 1870, in the East, efforts have been put forth largely in the extension, improvement, and rehabilitation of existing lines, rather than in the construction of new systems. During the thirty years ending in 1905, most of the Eastern lines had been completely reconstructed with easier grades, lighter

curves, heavier rails, stronger bridges, and vastly increased terminal facilities, the latter being one of the most important factors in the construction of railways, and the one which, in later days, has involved so much expense as to make the danger of new and competing lines less formidable to existing corporations.

The effort to reach the seaboard by new rival lines in the West has been made several times, but has never been fully accomplished. The railway philosophy of the age is that roads west of Chicago and the Mississippi have no business to enter Eastern territory, and *vice versa*. One effort did physically succeed. A railroad was constructed from Hoboken, opposite New York, to Chicago, closely paralleling the New York Central system. At the same time an effort was made to build a line from Philadelphia to the West, competing with the Pennsylvania lines. The so-called West Shore Nickel Plate system was in operation in 1885, and the South Pennsylvania, opposing the Pennsylvania, was well under construction when there arose a traffic war in the trunk line system which threatened grave results. The West Shore system had been built less for an investment as an operating concern than for compelling the competing line to purchase it. The club used to accomplish this was a heavy reduction in traffic rates which was perforce met by the other companies.

Bound up with the two new competing lines was another factor that was disturbing. The Baltimore and Ohio was building a line from Baltimore to Philadelphia to connect with the Philadelphia and Reading system, which had a line to New York. This was necessary because the independent line formerly used for traffic by all companies between Baltimore and Philadelphia had come into the possession of the Pennsylvania through the indiscretion of an official of the Baltimore and Ohio, who announced his own purchase of the connecting road before the transaction was completed. This would make a third competitor for the older lines between New York and the West.

After fighting until all parties in interest were tired of losing money and uncertain as to what the future would bring, should the war continue, an agreement was made in 1885, which was the most remarkable of its kind up to that time. The Vanderbilt interests bought out competing lines, which were thereafter operated in harmony with the New York Central. The Pennsylvania purchased the partly constructed South Pennsylvania, but never completed the road, while some new arrangements were made for handling "trunk line traffic." The Baltimore and Ohio completed its line to Philadelphia at enormous expense, and finally went into bankruptcy. While President Robert Garrett, of the Baltimore and Ohio Company, was discussing some details of the completion of the line with William H. Vanderbilt, son of the commodore, and at the time the leading railway man and the richest citizen of America, Vanderbilt fell dead.

The losses in this war of rates, the scandals which it caused, and the possibilities for evil which it demonstrated were the chief reasons for enacting the Interstate Commerce Law, which put a certain amount of Federal supervision over all railways engaged in interstate commerce, following permission granted by the Constitution.

Railway development in the West had perhaps fewer of the striking features noted in the Eastern situation, but it was accomplished under difficulties and with great losses. Immediately after the Civil War there was a rush to construct lines through the prairie regions which were being so rapidly settled, the principal objective point being Missouri River, so that connection could be made with the transcontinental system. Other lines were built into the Northwest, while in the Middle West new roads were constructed and the old extended. Progress in the South was less rapid. Immense grants were made by some of the legislatures, but there was little construction under them. Railroad mileage in the South, in proportion to area and population, has always been less than that in other sections east of the one hundredth meridian.

In the West construction was generally easy from an engineering standpoint. Many of the lines were hurriedly built and as cheaply as possible, the chief object of the promoters being to make fortunes in Wall Street. Some of them went into bankruptcy; others were manipulated by directorates for the sake of profits in speculation; while a few were profitable from the start and were ably managed. At the close of the nineteenth century, even after many consolidations had taken place, there were over twenty systems of railways radiating from Chicago. That city has become the great distributing centre of the country, and its growth has been so phenomenal that the railways, even after the expenditure of millions, have been unable properly to accommodate the ever increasing traffic.

Besides the two transcontinental railways already mentioned, the Great Northern has been constructed from St. Paul to the Pacific, and the Southern Pacific along the route which was first supposed to be the only possible one. In addition the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé with its connections is a transcontinental line, while a new road is well-nigh completed through the central section, and at least two others are within measurable distance of the Pacific Coast.

It will be noted on looking at the railway maps that most of the lines run east and west, and that there are very few which extend from the Lakes to the Gulf. It is one of the recent developments of railway construction that this condition is rapidly undergoing change. One important line extends from Chicago to New Orleans, and there are other systems which directly, or, with good connections, bear traffic from north of the Ohio to Gulf ports. It is strange that managers were so long in acting on the principle that it is easier to haul freight down hill than across mountain ranges. The actual changes can be noted in the official figures of the government showing the extraordinary increase of ocean traffic at all Gulf ports.

Attention must now be given to what may be called the larger strategy of railway operation. So far as the grouping of interests is concerned, roughly speaking, the country may be divided into four sections. New England is well-nigh isolated, though of recent years there are signs that its systems will be more closely associated financially with some of the Eastern trunk lines, and their absorption is predicted. The trunk line territory extends—outside New England and north of the Ohio and Potomac—to Chicago and the Mississippi or the Missouri. The Southern lines east of the Mississippi are in a class by themselves, while the Southwest system is more closely allied with Missouri and Chicago. The Far West is a section by itself, largest in territory and least in population. There is another class of railways which used to be called the Grangers because they radiate from Chicago into the grain growing section upon which they used to depend so largely for traffic. Most of them have been absorbed by or allied with some of the Great Eastern or Western systems, and they no longer comprise that independent group which used to figure so largely on the stock exchanges.

It has already been noted that there were six or more trunk lines which in general had traffic from the Mississippi to the Atlantic seaboard, and, in a day when there was less traffic than now, there was great rivalry to get business. Before 1880 there had been formed a Trunk Line Association to stop the frequent rate wars which were harmful to all except those engaged in speculation. Agreements were made by which uniform rates for all lines were agreed upon with certain "differentials" or concessions to those lines which would not under ordinary circumstances be expected to get their entire share. It was a rather complicated arrangement involving many competing as well as noncompeting points, but while it lasted it had the merit at least of providing stability. Unfortunately, and for many reasons, breaches of faith were frequent; in some cases, because of honest misinterpretation of the agreement; in

others, because managers found they were losing traffic owing, as they supposed, to the granting of secret rebates by their rivals; and finally, because some managers, in order to make money by speculation, deliberately precipitated rate wars. Although such wars were generally patched up, the losses to stockholders were considerable, nor can it be said that the shippers were invariably satisfied. Rate cutting brought an uncertain element into business which made it difficult sometimes to compete with rivals, so that in time a fair rate honestly applied was preferred by most business men to the seasons of cheap rates which were apt in the end to be expensive.

When the Interstate Commerce Law was passed in 1887 it was hoped by the public that beneficent results would follow. It is admitted that such has been the case, though not to the extent expected. The general supervision provided for in the bill was given to a commission, whose acts in certain instances were subject to review in the courts. In general, the commission was to see that all rates were reasonable and impartially enforced, and that no company be allowed to charge more for a short haul of freight than for a longer one. The companies were to make elaborate reports to the commission for statistical purposes.

The law has proved defective in many ways, but principally because of the lack of power in the commission to decide upon what is a "reasonable rate," after having decided one in existence to be unreasonable. Moreover, the Supreme Court has by various decisions limited the application of the "long and short haul" clause. That the law has accomplished much good is undoubted, but, in the year 1905, the principal issue before Congress was whether the commission should be given enlarged powers to meet existing deficiencies in the original act.

While railway managers, as a rule, objected to the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act, they announced that it would be obeyed to the letter, a promise not always fulfilled. The old Trunk Line Association was abandoned,

and an Interstate Commerce Association between the trunk lines was established, for the purpose of maintaining rates, and especially of seeing that all obeyed the law. This association was short lived. In spite of the commission, secret rebates were given, and litigation by shippers became so tedious and expensive that many corporations violated the law almost without attempt at concealment. In consequence, there were more rate wars and heavier losses by stockholders.

By 1890, a spirit of conservatism was beginning to enter the railway world. The old leaders of speculation on a large scale, the railway wreckers who would risk millions in a coup, were passing away, and the bankers, representing the investors, were coming more and more to be representatives on boards of direction. A further effort was made to maintain rates by pledging the faith of the presidents to each other under what was known as the "Gentleman's" Agreement. The heads of the systems plighted their faith to keep their official tariff schedules inviolate, but again there was failure. It always happened that trouble was precipitated "by some unauthorized employé," and, though the superior officer wept over such duplicity, he could not hold himself responsible, and so the attempt along these lines was given up entirely.

The spirit of conservatism grew rapidly during the last decade of the nineteenth century. The panic of 1893 was disastrous, though less so than that of twenty years before. Already a large number of railway systems had gone into bankruptcy, and, in a few succeeding years, others were obliged to do so. The history of railway financing is strewn with wrecks of railways, some bankruptcies being due to insuperable conditions, some to manipulation, some to unwise management, and some because the lines were too extravagantly built or, on commercial principles, should not have been built. Early in the history of railway construction most of the capital was raised by selling stock, and this method still prevails in some sections, notably in New

England. When stock gambling became so wild and corners were manipulated in such a way as to make and destroy colossal values almost in a night, conservative investors began to desire bonds, which were considered not only safer under normal conditions, but less liable to fluctuation. Many of the railways in the West, as well as some in the East, were constructed almost solely by the sale of bonds, leaving the stock as a bonus to the organizers. In many cases, the bonds were much more than sufficient, so that construction companies, composed of officers of the company, made large sums in building the road for the bonds, which they sold at large profit. The worst feature was that so many roads had to be reconstructed to a large extent soon after being open for operation. All this financial extravagance made enormous fortunes for many persons, but the result was that in a large number of cases bankruptcies resulted from failure to pay interest on the bonded indebtedness.

In an earlier day, it was customary for the leading managers to effect drastic schemes of reorganization for the corporations they may have deliberately wrecked. These usually involved cutting down the obligations of the road without actually reducing the output of securities: sometimes interest was scaled down, sometimes part of the bonds was converted into stock, and often both bondholders and stockholders were compelled to pay assessments in cash. Usually the officers of the company made money by the operation. It not infrequently happened that the first receivership would be followed by a second and a third, as in the case of the Philadelphia and Reading which, previous to 1876, had been one of the most prosperous lines in the country.

From 1890 onward, there was a new method employed in these reorganizations, which were now conducted almost entirely by the banking interests. As American bankers became less dependent upon those of Europe for aid in carrying out their enterprises, they assumed greater responsibilities, which they generally discharged with ability and

fidelity. In reorganizing a railway, the bankers felt a moral responsibility which former railway managers had not. The bankers desired to make reorganization as little drastic as occasion required, and yet on a basis that seemed to guarantee immunity from bankruptcy in the future. They generally insisted on a reduction of fixed charges, and on the provision of large sums to rehabilitate the road and increase its earning power. Moreover, they became permanently connected with the management in order to protect the interests of their clients. Under this system there have been many notable reorganizations, such as the last of the Philadelphia and Reading and the Southern Railway systems, the latter of which now controls a very large portion of the mileage of the South, east of the Mississippi.

Coincident with the returning prosperity of the closing years of the century and with the increasing prosperity of the railways there came suddenly into prominence one of the most distinguished railway men of America. Alexander Johnson Cassatt started life as a rodman on the Pennsylvania Railroad before he was of age. In a few years he became superintendent, and at twenty-nine was appointed general manager. A few years later he was chosen first vice-president of the company, and his career was looked upon as the most notable in his profession in the country. At a little past forty he retired from active service, though retaining his place as a director of the company. He was an important factor in its policy of expansion, and is credited with having accomplished some of the most remarkable benefits, not only for his company, but for railways in general. The agreement of 1885 as to trunk lines, already referred to, was effected chiefly through his agency. He was induced to return to active life in 1900, and became president of the company.

To President Cassatt is due a great deal of the modern policy of railway management. Taking advantage of the changed financial condition of the country, the increase in wealth, the demand for safe investments, and also of the fact

that so many immense fortunes were no longer in the hands of those who made them, but of their descendants who either wished no hand in the management of railways or desired, in any event, to live peacefully, Cassatt organized what is known as the Community of Interest System. This is nothing more nor less than a division of the country into spheres of interest grouping the railways which naturally belong in one territory. These control traffic in their own reach and, through rearrangements of boards of direction or assurances through bankers and others, all within the sphere keep peace. As a fact, most of those in a sphere are directly controlled in a single financial interest. Yet to strengthen the system, one railway line will buy heavily of the securities of another, while many of its own are held by a third, and a chain is completed. The object of this system is solidarity, to prevent the possibility of adverse action by making it unprofitable and hazardous for anyone to start a rate war. That is the large strategy of the system which has been generally adopted, though naturally it has limitations. Furthermore, Cassatt's policy involves making road-beds as perfect as possible, using the largest cars and the heaviest engines, and obtaining traffic in every legitimate way possible and at the lowest reasonable cost.

Aside from the efforts of George Gould, president of the Wabash system, to break this arrangement and get into the Eastern territory, where he is considered out of place, general peace prevailed in the railway world from 1900 to 1905, with the exception of a struggle that was purely financial and which has become notable in the history of finance.

In the early months of 1901, the fight for the control of the traffic from the Mississippi to the Pacific coast had become bitter. The Union Pacific had secured financial control of the Southern Pacific and all its leased lines, so that virtually it had command of all the traffic, except that controlled by the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern. The Chicago, Burlington and Quincy had reached so far West that it was apparently intending soon to reach the

Pacific. James J. Hill, who had for years controlled the Great Northern, which he had developed from a small local road in Minnesota, designed to get possession of the Northern Pacific, so as to make his mastery of the northern share of transcontinental traffic secure. He had a steamship line from Puget Sound to Japan, and had succeeded beyond any other manager in securing a large trade with China and other adjacent portions of Asia. He began a campaign to get control of the Northern Pacific, the stock of which was then somewhat below par.

This design soon became known to the Union Pacific directors, of whom Edward H. Harriman was chief. The latter looked upon Hill's ambitions as unfriendly to the interests of his own corporation and attempted to forestall him in control of the Northern Pacific. Each party had large banking interests enlisted in the struggle, and, if they alone had been involved, the contest would have been only to secure the actual existing stock. But, as is always the case in such financial movements, what is termed "the public" became interested heavily and bought and sold the stock on margins. This was at a time when there was great activity in the stock market, and an unusual number of persons were engaged in speculation who ordinarily were uninterested in financial vagaries. There were few persons who understood that there was actually a contest for control going on between financial interests of great magnitude. When a stock becomes "active," that is to say, is heavily dealt in on the exchanges, there is, inevitably, an immense amount of speculation by persons having no knowledge of what is being attempted. As Northern Pacific stock advanced to par and beyond, speculation on the part of the public became extraordinarily active. For a time most of the speculators were on what is termed the bullish side of the market. They bought the stock for a rise, and the sellers were largely persons who had bought the stock at much lower prices and were glad to take a profit. When the advance in price had exceeded what was usual in such cases and

beyond the supposed intrinsic worth of the stock, many speculators began to sell short on margins—that is to say, they sold stock that they did not possess in the hope that it would rapidly decline in price, so that they could buy it back at a profit. These speculators were unconscious of the fact that the two great parties in interest were getting hold of every share they could, so that their own “short sales” were extremely hazardous.

On May 9th the climax came. The market was heavily oversold, that is to say, speculators had sold more Northern Pacific and other stocks than it was possible to deliver, and when demand was made upon them to produce the certificates of shares they were obliged to secure them at any price whatever. As much as a thousand dollars a share was paid on the stock exchange for Northern Pacific, and it is said that some private settlements were made on the basis of four thousand dollars a share. Such an extraordinary proceeding utterly upset the calculations of all bankers and brokers as well as of the public, and demoralized the whole market. A terrible panic was imminent, and if all the men who had sold the stock had been compelled to make deliveries they could have been driven into bankruptcy. In this extraordinary situation the New York Stock Exchange was closed for a day, and the warring parties had a conference. Practically all the stock that was purchasable was in the hands of one party or the other, and it was agreed that outstanding short sales should be settled on what, under the circumstances, was a moderate basis, without requiring actual delivery, which had now become impossible.

The actual control of the road seemed in doubt, but the faction led by Hill were in a position to make certain readjustments of the stock which would insure control. In this emergency a compromise was agreed upon. It was resolved to form a holding corporation with which the stock of the Northern Pacific, the Great Northern, and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy should be deposited, and stock of the new corporation, called the Northern Securities

Company, was to be issued to holders of the stock of these three roads at a fixed valuation. This had the effect of stopping the war, and was essentially a pooling of all interests, since in no case was it likely that the new corporation would act adversely to the interests of the Union Pacific, which would be so heavily interested in its ownership and management.

The plan was for the moment carried out. Though not new in conception, it was wider in scope than had hitherto been attempted. There are many such corporations in the country involving control of railways. The Northern Securities Company was no sooner formed, however, than it aroused wide opposition, especially in the territory through which the three railroads run. The public looked upon it as a plan to increase rates and cut off all competition. It was declared in violation of the laws of a number of Western States through which the roads ran, and preliminary steps were taken in the State courts to stop what was termed the "merger," but the Federal government soon took action in the premises. The merger was declared by the attorney-general in contravention of the anti-trust law commonly known as the Sherman Act, which provides against combinations in restraint of trade. Suit was brought and carried through various stages to the Supreme Court of the United States, which resulted in a complete victory for the government's contention. The merger was dissolved, though for the moment it did not disturb the relations between the parties to the compromise. They made no effort to renew the contest.

Since 1890, railway construction has not been rapid, but there has been a very large increase in the capitalization of railway corporations due to the improvements that have been made. *Poor's Manual* for 1905, a recognized authority, gives the following statistics of railways in this country: Total mileage, 212,348. Total liabilities, \$15,495,504,651. Total traffic revenue, \$1,977,628,713, of which \$1,367,119,507 was from freight. The net

earnings were \$639,240,027. The passenger mileage was 22,167,124,184. The number of tons of freight moved one mile was 173,613,762,130.

The most astonishing feature of American railways is the decrease in traffic rates which has taken place in forty years. This is exemplified particularly in freight charges, which have decreased from almost three cents per ton per mile in 1860 to 0.787 of a cent in 1904. Passenger rates have in the same period declined from about four cents per mile to almost exactly two cents.

The cost of transporting freight can best be understood by a comparison with transportation by horses. At the rate paid the railways a team of horses could earn no more than sixty cents a day under the most favorable circumstances, and, on an average, probably not more than half that sum.

In the appendix to this volume will be found the names of the leading railway systems of the country, their mileage, capitalization, and some other data.



CHAPTER XIII

RECENT AMERICAN FINANCE

THE story of American finance is long and devious, whether we consider merely the legislation involved or the many crises through which the commercial world has passed. For the purpose of this volume, it is necessary to begin only with the situation at the opening of the civil conflict. When the tempest of war broke out, it was felt both North and South that the financial question was one of absorbing importance, and that upon it largely depended the result of the clash of arms. How the Southern people failed in their management of the question we need not here consider. The success of the North was in this respect remarkable, seeing that conditions were new and precedents had to be created.

Previous to this time the only money issued by the Federal government was coin. From time to time, treasury notes had been issued, generally bearing interest, but these had been retired or were not current. Otherwise, there was the currency of the State banks spread over the country, which, compared with gold, varied in actual purchasing value from nothing to par. As a rule, the banks of the Eastern States were on a specie basis, and their notes passed at face value. This was true of many others throughout the country; but since settlements were generally made in the East, there was often a slight premium West and South for Eastern notes, while, except on those mentioned, there was generally

a discount on any note, and this was greater the further it was from the place of issue. One of the largest banking houses in the country was started by an itinerant German portrait painter, who found it much more profitable to buy and sell banknotes than to follow his profession.

One result of State bank currency was a flood of counterfeits, so that every business man and banker felt it necessary to have a counterfeit detector immediately at hand with all the latest information. As most of the notes were for a denomination of five dollars and upward, there was a scarcity of small money, which led to the curious situation of many worthless notes passing at par. Thus, Kentucky, which had indulged in a saturnalia of wildcat banking, although it afterward reformed its ways, was represented almost everywhere by one-dollar notes, which were generally known to be worthless, but which commonly passed at par because of their convenience in making change, much as the copper and nickel currency is used to-day. Perhaps the greatest sufferers from this system were the wage earners. They were frequently compelled to accept their pay in depreciated notes, on pain of discharge. The situation was fast becoming intolerable, when the Civil War drove practically the whole currency off the specie basis and called for some reform.

The suspension of specie payments was not immediate, nor was it simultaneous, but it was inevitable, and finally became total when the Federal treasury also suspended. The nation demanded an immense amount of money to carry on the War. At first the banks were disposed to refrain from purchasing bonds issued by the government, seeing how uncertain were conditions. The problem was finally presented to them in the light of all standing or falling together, and from that moment there was general coöperation among the financial institutions of the North in floating all the loans offered by the government. The bulk of the work was taken in charge by the house of Jay Cooke and Company, and was carried out with singular

success. Many of the bonds were sold abroad, but this would have been impossible under desirable conditions had not the domestic demand been fairly constant. The government was not liberal in its offers, and the task lay heavily upon the agents mentioned, who received for their entire services during the War a net profit of not more than two hundred thousand dollars, or much less than was made by a single syndicate thirty years later, in a time of profound peace, on a loan of less than one hundred million dollars.

The great stimulus for the disposal of the bonds lay in the National Banking Act, which was passed after much misgiving, and which, with some changes, remains on the statute books to this day (1905). When the banks had disposed of most of their gold and silver and other currency which had passed current, there came a dearth of resources. Out of this came first the Legal Tender Act of February, 1862, which authorized the issue of treasury notes, beginning with one hundred and fifty million dollars and afterward increased to over three times that amount. As the government was utterly unable to keep these on a specie basis, they fell below par and widely fluctuated in price. Early in 1863 the National Banking Act was passed, which, in some respects, had a salutary effect upon the country, although it brought some evils in its train. This was founded closely on the New York Banking Act, which allowed five men, under prescribed conditions, to establish a bank and issue currency guaranteed by the deposit of securities. In this new law it was provided that the security should be government bonds. Although the provisions were considered rather stringent for a time of war, the bankers of the country generally accepted them, and national banks were soon found in every large centre, replacing almost entirely the former State banks, whose currency issues were driven out of existence by a Federal tax of ten per cent.

During the War, greenbacks and national banknotes were the currency almost exclusively used, since gold and silver, in accordance with Gresham's law, were largely driven out

of circulation, or commanded a high premium. Both these financial measures were looked upon as temporary and growing only out of the stress of war. It so happened that after the War was over the Legal Tender Act came into litigation, and the Supreme Court, presided over by the same Salmon P. Chase who as secretary of the treasury had urged the act on Congress, declared it to be unconstitutional. Had that decision stood, it is impossible to contemplate what the results would have been, though there are those who think it would have been better in the long run for the country. As a fact, reargument was ordered by the court, by which time the personnel of the court had been changed, and the constitutionality of the act was upheld by a narrow majority.

During the War the government ordered the issue of a large amount of fractional paper currency, as even silver coins of small denomination had almost disappeared from circulation. The troops were generally paid in greenbacks at face price, although they were at a large discount compared with the price of gold at the time the soldier's compensation was fixed by Congress. Still, it can be said that there were few volunteers who entered the service for the small pay allowed, and those who received greenbacks, even when worth only forty cents on the dollar in gold, made little complaint. The troubles came later when these same men bought farms or houses or other things on a currency basis and felt that they were wronged by being compelled to pay in gold.

Mention has already been made of the fact that after the War, when the government was getting its financial house in order, it was arranged that the greenbacks should gradually be funded into interest-bearing obligations. On its face this seemed a very proper expedient, but it was soon discovered that the country was in no condition to stand such a rapid contraction of the currency. During the War, business had expanded on a depreciated currency basis, and when peace was established the trade requirements of the

South had to be supplied by existing currency, supplemented only by the note issues following the extension of the national banking system, and this was not sufficient for the demands of commerce. In consequence, Congress passed a law suspending the refunding of the legal tender notes. This was in obedience not only to sound financial considerations but, in part, to a clamor that had come from the people. There were those who declared it wrong for the government to refund in interest-bearing bonds, payable in specie, the notes which the soldiers had taken at par and at a great depreciation while fighting for the Union. With peace, the legal tender notes began to advance in price, or gold was commonly said to fall, though this process was by no means so rapid as some anticipated. The United States was heavily in debt to Europe, and had there not been a great demand for agricultural products, especially for cotton, at high prices, the balance of trade would not only have been constantly against the United States, but her securities held abroad would have so greatly depreciated that they would have been thrown on the market, and the nation would have had little hope of resuming specie payments.

As already noted, the question was agitated, at first chiefly by the Democratic party, of making legal tenders irredeemable and almost illimitable in amount. The argument was that a government promise to pay was of worth, and had back of it such moral force that it need never be redeemed, and that it would be the part of wisdom to expand a paper currency to the exclusion of all others. While such a view has been generally discarded it must be said that at the time of its presentation there were men of solid worth and supposed financial experience who endorsed it. It was claimed that the greenbacks had fought the War, that they had made the expansion to the West possible, and that they were the "poor man's money." In 1868, the Democratic National Convention came near endorsing some such view, and the candidate of the "greenbackers" was defeated after it seemed as if victory were in his grasp.

Party action on the subject was varied and rather equivocal for some years after the War until finally the dominant party approved the greenback issue, and Congress, in the spring of 1874, actually passed a bill for the inflation of the currency, largely as a measure to bring relief after the panic of the previous year, and partly in aid of the proposed resumption of specie payments. This bill President Grant vetoed most unexpectedly, and Congress sustained that action. The proposed expansion was not large but it seems likely that, if it had been agreed upon, still further extensions would have been made, and, much as the country needed relief, it was generally felt afterward that Grant had acted wisely in not signing the bill. At that time the only coin in circulation was for governmental purposes. Duties on imports were paid in coin, and in coin the government paid interest on its bonds. Many private transactions which were nominally payable in coin were actually settled in currency according to the market price of gold. The amount of the greenbacks outstanding in 1905 remains substantially what it was after resumption in 1879, but a redemption fund was provided which will be described later.

After the extraordinary defeat of the Republican party in the autumn of 1874, Congress before adjourning passed a law providing for the resumption of specie payments on January 1, 1879, an act which gave rise to much political controversy, but which was not repealed.

Mention has been made of the decline in the price of gold, as it was commonly spoken of after the War. From the day during the War when specie payments were suspended, gold became an article of speculation in the market, the same as any other commodity. The "Gold room" in connection with the New York Stock Exchange was often the busiest portion of that mart. After every Federal victory gold fell, after every defeat it rose, and the changes were so extraordinary that fortunes were made and lost rapidly. After the War, speculation in gold continued so

long as there was no resumption of specie payments, and the price depended to a large extent upon the foreign demand for American products, principally agricultural. This demand was irregular, and, in order to make the situation as tolerable as possible, the government bought and sold gold in the open market, so as to preserve as nearly as possible a normal condition.

In 1869, the first year of Grant's first administration, some brokers of New York, of whom Jay Gould and James Fiske, Jr., were the leaders, made up their minds to manipulate a "corner" in gold. That is to say, they proposed quietly to make contracts for more gold than could possibly be delivered and then force those who had sold to them to settle the differences at an enormous figure. Such transactions have become more familiar in a later day in various commodities, but none have had such sensational importance as this gold corner.

The plan was carefully laid and it almost succeeded. The crux of the situation was the Federal treasury, and it was essential that some method be adopted that would lead President Grant to order the treasury sales stopped absolutely. This was felt to be a delicate undertaking, and it was accomplished—temporarily—with great skill. Relatives by marriage of Mrs. Grant were in the scheme; and though one man assumed to represent the president or to be authorized to state what the president would do, it was discovered later that he acted solely on his own responsibility and that what little of the matter came to General Grant's ears was reprobated by him. Speculation in gold was carried on ostensibly for the benefit of Mrs. Grant, but she was innocent of the transaction.

The other part of the conspiracy was more difficult. Gould wrote letters repeatedly to the Treasury Department, and occasionally to the president, in which it was artfully explained that if the treasury continued to sell gold freely and that commodity went down in price the effect upon the price of American grain for sale abroad would be

disastrous. During a dinner on a steamer on Long Island Sound General Grant was artfully approached, and in some desultory conversation made the announcement that he felt that there was something fictitious in the prosperity of the country and that perhaps the bubble might as well be pricked then as at any time. Eventually, the order to suspend treasury sales of gold was made, and the conspiracy proceeded.

The moment for effecting the corner was timed to coincide with the president's visit to an interior town of Pennsylvania, far from the telegraph. It has been asserted by many of those who were implicated that they went into the enterprise from patriotic motives, believing it impossible for the country to be prosperous if the grain crops, which were so abundant that year, were thrown on the market at falling prices. The chief conspirators had no such motives. Only after long deliberation did they feel safe in making the effort, and the culmination came on Friday, September 24th. The clique had quietly bought more gold than there was in New York, outside the treasury, and on that morning they pushed the scheme to its conclusion. Gold was bid up rapidly, and brokers acting for the conspirators took all that was offered and clamored for more. It was soon apparent to some of the cooler heads in New York that there was a corner in progress, that there was absolutely nothing normal to cause such a rapid advance in the price. Financial circles became wildly agitated, while the gold room was a maelstrom of excitement. Fortunes were made and lost every moment. The chief conspirators soon saw that it would be impossible to compel settlements for gold contracts at two hundred when the normal price was about one hundred and forty-one. Some of them abandoned their fellows. Gould is alleged to have turned on his associates and made money by becoming a seller instead of a buyer of gold. There were threats of assassination of the leaders. All sorts of fanciful stories concerning the climax have been afloat for many years. The fact is that Secretary Boutwell soon discovered that there was a conspiracy on foot, and turned loose the

treasury gold, which immediately broke the corner. Fiske repudiated all the contracts he had made at a loss, and is said to have insisted on a settlement of those which showed a profit.

The losses of that day were tremendous, and the excitement did not subside for a long time. Some valuable lessons were learned, and the fear of a similar catastrophe was a moving force in securing a resumption act. But before this came to pass, it was certain that something must be done to reform the antiquated coinage system. In fact, it still was practically on the basis which, largely through Benton's influence, had been established in the days of Andrew Jackson.

What later passed into political parlance as "The Crime of 1873," was nothing more than an act to reform the coinage system of the country. It was not a secret or speedy piece of work. Three years passed before it was enacted, after many speeches in both Houses, the principal debates having reference to administrative details. What afterward made this act famous is the fact that it omitted from the list of coins the silver dollar. This omission was deliberate because silver at the prevailing ratio of nearly sixteen to one was more valuable than gold and had gone out of circulation except in the subsidiary coins which were lighter in weight than the proportions represented on their face. In fact, only a few million silver dollars had been coined in this country, most of those in circulation having come from Mexico, so long the source of the silver supply of the world. There was little objection to this action at the time since no one would take silver to the mint to be coined at a considerable loss, nor was anything apparent that would notably affect the supply of the commodity.

The act was passed early in 1873 or it probably would not have been passed at all owing to the panic which came in the fall. It was shortly after the passage of this act that immense discoveries of silver were made in America.

The refusal of the Latin Union to continue the unlimited coinage of silver brought about a decided fall in the price of that metal. It was then first discovered by many persons that the mints were not open to the coinage of the silver dollar (excepting a trade dollar in limited amounts for use in the far East), and this took away the market on which silver mine owners had chiefly counted. Immediately there began an agitation for the "remonetization" of silver, which in market value had already fallen considerably below the old ratio of sixteen to one in weight as compared with gold.

When, as compared with gold, the bullion in a silver dollar had fallen to about ninety cents, there was an idea widely prevalent that in some way this depreciation was the result of Congressional action and also of a conspiracy. It was asserted and long believed by very many persons, including some eminent men in all walks of life, that the movement to demonetize silver had its origin in London, and that enormous sums of money were placed in the hands of agents in the United States to secure the passage of the Act of 1873 solely to increase the wealth of those who were interested in gold or in investments based on gold. Such statements are no longer believed. The production of the world's supply of silver increased so fast that many governments took nearly simultaneous action which closed the mints to an enormous amount of silver.

Early in the administration of Hayes efforts were made completely to restore the coinage of silver at the mints. Efforts to do this were not fully successful, but the Bland-Allison Act was passed in 1878 over the veto of President Hayes. This was a compromise between the demands of the two extremes on the subject. By this act from two to four million silver dollars were to be coined at the mints each month. This was believed by many to be enough to restore the ratio of about sixteen to one between gold and silver which had previously existed for so many years.

Congress acted without much respect to the president in this matter since his veto message was not even referred to

a committee, and it was overruled in each House by votes composed of members of both parties. The theory that the government coinage at the maximum rate of forty-eight million dollars a year would solve the difficulty proved false. The price of silver continued to fall as the production increased in the Western States beyond all expectations. The issue became a prominent one in politics, and it was long before the parties were definitely aligned on the subject. When they did take their stand changes in allegiance were many.

By 1890 the situation for the silver producers was so much worse than it had ever been that it was felt by leaders of the Republican party that some legislation was necessary. Some may have looked upon the matter solely in a political light, while others believed it possible to ameliorate conditions by wise legislation. So far as politics was concerned, it seemed that the move was necessary, since there had arisen out of the original greenback party one which had a much larger programme and which was largely agrarian in its constituency. The Greenback-Labor party in 1876, with Peter Cooper as its candidate for the presidency, had polled a respectable vote, and in the meantime the movement in one form or another had received a great impetus. In 1880, James B. Weaver, candidate of the party had polled over three hundred thousand votes. In 1884, with General Benjamin F. Butler as the legatee of the party the vote was only about one hundred and seventy-five thousand, a falling off due in some measure to the fierceness of the contest between the candidates of the two leading parties. It did not increase in 1888, as in fact there was no regular Greenback party organization in that year, but already in various States one party or another had taken up the subject and made vigorous declarations respecting it. In 1890, there seemed to be a fear that the Western States, practically all of which were considered "children of the Republican party," would give up their allegiance "unless something was done for silver." Something was accordingly done.

The Sherman Act of 1890 is improperly so called, for John Sherman, the alleged author, was opposed to its principal and characteristic clause. It was ordered by this act that the secretary of the treasury purchase in the open market each month four million five hundred thousand ounces of silver, that the bullion be stored, and that treasury certificates be issued for this pending the coinage by the mints. This measure again failed of its anticipated results. The price of silver continued to fall. It was argued by one set of economists that it would be impossible under the circumstances for the government to maintain the parity demanded, while another set insisted that if the coinage was made unlimited, parity would be immediately restored. There were many persons who did not know much about the subject, and managed to befog themselves and the public generally.

In the campaign of 1892 over one million votes were cast for Weaver, who represented now not only the remnant of the greenbackers, but many agrarians, free silverites, and others who were dissatisfied with the Republican party. When, in 1893, the mints of India were closed to silver, the fall in price was rapid, and a panic ensued. Congress, in that year, repealed the purchasing clause of the act of 1890, and it has never been restored. The silver issue figured almost exclusively in the campaigns of 1896 and 1900, and resulted in a victory for the gold standard as will be elsewhere narrated.

Congress enacted legislation by which greenbacks were protected by a gold reserve of one hundred and fifty million dollars, instead of the one hundred million dollars provided by the resumption act; prevented the use of greenbacks as an "endless chain" to deplete the treasury of gold; coined all the silver bullion into dollars, and pledged the faith of the government to maintain the parity; and, finally, extended the scope of the national banking act. Nevertheless, forty-four years after the opening of the Civil War the financial system of the United States was still largely based upon conditions evoked by the War and expected to be temporary.

The agrarian movements are not so easy to follow in detail. After the panic of 1873, besides the greenback movements already mentioned, there came into prominence an organization entitled The Patrons of Husbandry, and familiarly known as "The Grangers." This is a secret order to which men and women are admitted and is professedly non-political. It was organized in Washington in 1867, but gained especial strength during the hard times. One of its principal objects was coöperative trading, which was carried on with more or less success for some time, though finally abandoned in a large measure. The order had at one time a million and a half members, but the membership rapidly declined, owing in part to the fact that the Farmers' Alliance and other organizations of a more radical character came into popularity. Later it increased in popularity once more, and has been a strong factor in developing the scientific and practical side of agriculture.

That there were many times when the condition of the farmer was unfortunate is without question, though in this respect he has not differed from the followers of any other occupation. What caused most of the discontent among the agricultural classes was the steady decline in the value of grain. As this seemed to be coincident with the fall in the price of silver, it was assumed that there was a definite relation between the two, and that demonetization was the moving cause. Measured in bushels of wheat, the farmer for a long time contended that his purchasing power was constantly declining, while he was obliged to pay increased taxation with fewer resources.

It was not pretended by close students of political economy of any party or school that the financial legislation of the country was perfect. Practically everyone felt that some changes were necessary either in legislation or in practice. The outcry against wealth became extravagant, frequently demagogic. When farmers could not pay off their mortgages or keep up interest, many foreclosures resulted, and this fanned the flame of discontent. It is true

that many farmers were incompetent, or had been unwise in making purchases without resources, but, besides these, there were great numbers who, due to drought or falling prices, found themselves financially embarrassed, and who held the government largely responsible.

The new movement gained most of its strength west of the Mississippi and south of the Ohio. It resulted in the formation of the People's party, which eventually gained control of the Democratic party. The Populists of the South were in many respects even more extreme than those of the West. The demand for free silver was only part of the programme of the more radical leaders. At a meeting held in Ocala, Florida, in 1890, demands were formulated which became known as the Ocala Platform. These proposed government warehouses for the storage of grain on which large loans should be made, and the programme was socialistic in many other respects. When the party cast over one million votes in 1892, the propaganda spread until, four years later, the Populists were able to nominate the Democratic candidate for the presidency. Even then there were dissensions in the party which were never healed. Later there came a split, and by 1904 the party as an organization had lost much of its membership and influence. By this time the question of free silver was practically settled, and other demands had become of less importance, owing to the extraordinary prosperity of the farming classes during a series of years.

Unlike such movements in other countries, agrarianism in the United States has always proceeded by peaceful methods, seeking its ends by coöperation and legislation, not by force. It is true that at times there has been extravagant use of invectives, and many persons have been wrought up to a frenzy of excitement over their real or fancied wrongs, but that is all. In South Carolina the Populists gained complete control of the State and retain it (1905). In North Carolina their success was briefer, while, inside of ten years, it was destined to pass away in every one of the

States west of the Mississippi, where it had its greatest numerical strength. Although the movements narrated have failed to secure favorable legislation on all points demanded, it is certain that in the aggregate they have resulted in much good. They have enlarged the scope of political discussion, they have made agriculture a more scientific occupation, and have enlisted State and Federal aid in the warfare of the farmer with the enemies of all food plants and with the diseases which afflict domestic animals.



CHAPTER XIV

CLEVELAND'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

CLEVELAND entered upon his second term under happier auspices than when he first became president. Although his electoral vote in 1892 was larger than in 1884, both actually and relatively, his proportion of the total popular vote was much smaller owing to the great increase in the vote for the Populist candidates. (See Appendix.) The Prohibitionist vote had increased. Although Cleveland's victory seemed overwhelming at the moment, he had a smaller proportion of the popular vote than most presidents have received in recent years. This phase of the election did not at the time attract much attention. The House of Representatives elected was strongly Democratic, and in the Senate there was a comfortable Democratic majority, counting in favor of the administration all who were not Republican—a classification which was soon found to be inaccurate.

For his second Cabinet, Cleveland chose Walter Q. Gresham, of Indiana, secretary of state; John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, secretary of the treasury; Daniel S. Lamont, of New York, secretary of war; Hoke Smith, of Georgia, secretary of the interior; Hilary A. Herbert, of Alabama, secretary of the navy; J. Sterling Morton, of Nebraska, secretary of agriculture; Wilson S. Bissell, of New York, postmaster-general, and Richard Olney, of Massachusetts, attorney-general. During the administration a number of changes occurred. Gresham died and was succeeded by

Olney. Smith resigned and was succeeded by David R. Francis, of Missouri. William L. Wilson, of West Virginia, became postmaster-general in 1895, and Judson Harmon, of Ohio, succeeded Olney as attorney-general in the same year.

Although this Cabinet contained men of ability, it soon developed that several members were out of harmony with the prevailing Democratic policy in the States from which they came. In time these members became politically marooned, and at the close of the administration the Cabinet had practically no influence over the dominant wing of the Democratic party.

Cleveland's first act of importance was to withdraw from the Senate a treaty which had been negotiated by President Harrison with the Hawaiian Islands, providing for their annexation to the United States. A revolution in the islands had established a government which Cleveland considered did not represent the wishes of the majority of the natives. In his opinion American marines and civil officials had unduly exerted themselves to aid in deposing Queen Liliuokalani from her throne and in establishing a republic. He sent James H. Blount, of Georgia, as commissioner with "paramount authority" to investigate the matter. Blount's report condemned the treaty and favored the restoration of the deposed queen to her throne. Cleveland received much censure for "hauling down the American flag." The revolutionary government continued to hold possession of the islands until, under a later administration, they were acquired by the United States.

In May, 1893, Cleveland presided at the opening exercises of the World's Columbian Exposition, at Chicago, which celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. The grounds were admirably located on Lake Michigan, the buildings were large and of a pleasing as well as imposing style of architecture, while the entire effect was one of singular beauty. The exposition was a success in all respects. The total attendance of visitors

was about twenty million, or twice that at the Centennial Exposition of 1876.

In June came news that the government of British India had suspended the free coinage of silver at the mints. This measure was due to the fact that the price of silver bullion in the open markets of the world had been steadily falling for some years, and the Indian government found it impossible to maintain a stable rate of exchange with Great Britain, which was on a gold basis. This caused an immediate fall in the bullion price of silver in all markets. The United States government was buying four million five hundred thousand ounces of silver per month in the open market, on which treasury certificates were being issued on the basis of the legal weight of the silver dollar. The bullion in a silver dollar was now worth only sixty cents, and eventually it fell below that figure.

The sudden fall in the price of silver caused immediate disturbances in the world's financial centres, but particularly in America. What is commonly called the panic of 1893 is more properly designated as a depression which began in that year. There were none of the exciting scenes of 1873. Some large commercial failures occurred, but no general collapse among banking or business interests. The crisis was not so acute or so generally precipitated as in 1873, yet it was serious. It came at a time when there was uncertainty in the American industrial world about the prospect of a radical revision of the tariff. This caused many manufacturing establishments to reduce the number of employés and to husband resources, pending expected changes. At this time there were heavy foreign investments in the United States, and the fear that this country would eventually adopt a silver basis for its currency caused heavy sales of American securities held abroad, which, in turn, depressed the domestic markets.

Bankers, in a spirit of conservatism, restricted loans as far as possible. The depression which began at the money centres of the nation soon spread until it affected every

interest. In the month of August it was considered doubtful by some financiers if an overwhelming panic could be prevented. In this emergency the bankers stood shoulder to shoulder, through clearing houses and otherwise, and resolved to go down together, if at all. While there was as much currency in circulation as ever, credit fell at all centres, and many commercial and manufacturing establishments either failed or continued business on a restricted basis. The emergency was tided over without a collapse such as had occurred on previous occasions, but there were times when the situation was strained almost to the breaking point.

In this emergency, President Cleveland called an extra session of Congress to meet in October, his principal purpose being to secure a repeal of that clause of the so-called Sherman Act which required monthly purchases of silver. Against this proposed repeal there was great opposition, particularly from the West. The silver-producing States, believing that the fall in silver was due to its demonetization in 1873, maintained that remonetization would immediately restore the market ratio that had formerly existed between gold and silver. This had been the doctrine of the Populist party in the late campaign, and it received immense accessions of strength in the South and west of Mississippi River. Repeal was with difficulty accomplished, and only with the aid of Republican votes in the Senate. An effort was made by some of the advocates of silver in the Senate to filibuster, or talk the subject to death. This plan failed, and repeal was carried by a substantial majority, though up to the last moment the result seemed doubtful.

At the regular session a very moderate tariff bill was passed through the House, but it was amended in the Senate until it became more protective than the Democratic doctrine admitted. This latter measure, known as the Wilson-Gorman Bill, became a law, as elsewhere narrated. The depression in business continued throughout the Cleveland administration, and was intensified by the difficulty of maintaining the gold reserve for the redemption of greenbacks.

So severe was the crisis in 1894 that Cleveland was impelled to make a contract with New York bankers for the purchase of some sixty million dollars in gold on what seemed hard terms, with a proviso that gold should in future be supplied by the same parties. This bargain became so unpopular that it was afterward cancelled. Some ten years later, Cleveland, in a published article, explained the necessities of the occasion, and defended his action as being essential to prevent the suspension of specie payments. Apparently, suspension of specie payments was barely averted.

Cleveland very soon found himself out of harmony with most of his party. While some of the most prominent Democrats in and outside of official life were faithful to him, an agrarian sentiment, originating within the Democratic party, grew rapidly in the South and West. On the free silver issue this sentiment was hostile to the administration. The hard times emphasized the prevailing discontent, and involved a very general realignment of parties. The Populists were the real gainers, drawing heavily from both parties, with results which were later of momentous import.

In foreign affairs the most important event was the action of the administration in the matter of the Venezuela boundary. For many years this had been in dispute between British Guiana and Venezuela. The matter was of little importance until discoveries of gold and the activity of trading corporations precipitated a sharp controversy which at one time threatened war between Great Britain and Venezuela, for the former supported her colony. If Great Britain carried out her implied threat of forcibly seizing the territory in dispute, the United States would be compelled either to interfere or to abandon the principle asserted by Monroe that the American continents were not subject to further territorial aggrandizement by the nations of Europe. Preliminary efforts looking to arbitration were made by this country but rejected by Great Britain until at last Cleveland precipitated a crisis.

On December 17, 1895, in a special message to Congress the president stated the case forcefully, and asked for a commission to investigate the subject so as to arrive at a proper determination of the boundary, which boundary the United States would insist upon being maintained. This message was couched in vigorous language and taken in connection with the secretary of state's ultimatum to Great Britain it practically amounted to a declaration of war unless Great Britain accepted the demand for arbitration. In no document before or since has the Monroe Doctrine been given such a broad interpretation. The result was in one sense unexpected. There came a tremendous fall in prices on the stock exchanges in the United States and Great Britain as war was looked upon as impending. Considering the firm stand which the British government had taken in the matter it seemed very doubtful if it would retreat from its position. The alternative was that the United States abandon her position or make war. There was no intention on the part of the latter to retreat, and it was considered doubtful if Lord Salisbury, then British premier, would feel justified in yielding. It is estimated that within a week the depreciation in securities in the United States amounted to five hundred million dollars. The blow was felt the more in financial circles because the country was beginning to revive from the serious depression of 1893.

For a few days there was great anxiety on both sides of the Atlantic, but the situation was saved by a graceful acceptance of arbitration by Great Britain. In the final award of the arbitrators Venezuela got much less than she had expected and Great Britain more than she had at one time demanded. The point of arbitration, however, was all that the administration at Washington insisted upon, and there has not since been any international friction over the matter.

The disappearance of the war cloud did not, however, restore the financial situation in America. It was long before the losses were recouped, and financiers were chary

about undertaking new enterprises until matters in diplomacy as well as the matter of the currency were established on a sounder basis. A number of large railway systems were in bankruptcy, and some years were to follow before they were reorganized and placed on a substantial basis. Decreasing railway earnings indicated the depression that generally existed, and there were many reasons given to account for the situation.

Among the disturbing questions in the commercial world was the provision in the tariff bill of 1894 for the taxation of all incomes in excess of four thousand dollars a year. This was bitterly attacked in many quarters, and was especially unpopular in the East. The subject was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States on a constitutional question. At the first hearing, the court was equally divided, as Justice Jackson was unable to be present by reason of illness. When Jackson resumed his duties there was a reargument of the case. The public generally expected that the law would be upheld, but one of the justices changed his views and the court declared the law unconstitutional. This resulted in further party dissension. The masses of the Democratic party were in favor of the income tax, and felt that the rich had escaped their just responsibilities.

During the last two years of Cleveland's administration there was little partisan legislation. In 1894, the elections to the Federal House of Representatives showed results as surprising as those of two years before, though in the reversal of party strength. The Democratic membership of two hundred and twenty was reduced at this election to one hundred and four, while the Republican was increased from one hundred and twenty-six to two hundred and forty-six. This did not include the independents, some fifteen in number in both Houses, who were, primarily, silver men. The Democratic party retained control of the Senate until the end of the administration, when the Republicans acquired a majority.

Cleveland was much concerned with the condition of affairs in Cuba, where a revolution had broken out and was making considerable headway. He offered his services as intermediately, but these were refused. In his communications on the subject he expressed strict neutrality, until in his last annual message he intimated that the time seemed near at hand when the United States must take active steps to protect her important interests in Cuba.

Difficulties between the United States and Spain had existed for a century; and though up to this time they had been settled through diplomacy, on several occasions diplomatic relations were strained to near the breaking point. Spain had reluctantly ceded Florida to the United States, and the transfer was withheld until strong pressure was brought. In the middle of the nineteenth century there was an active sentiment in the southern part of the United States in favor of the annexation of Cuba, and this sentiment existed to some extent in the North. This was partly because of the large American trade with the island, but especially because Cuba seemed to offer a field for the extension of slavery. After the Compromise of 1850 there was little expectation that new slave States could be created on the continent, but Cuba seemed to offer room for several States. Filibustering expeditions were sent from America at various times to help the revolutionary sentiment that was alleged to exist in the island, but all were failures. The most notable expedition was that under Narciso Lopez, a South American adventurer, who, after a futile effort in 1850, organized a more formidable one the next year. It was composed almost entirely of American citizens, who expected to be received with ardor by the natives. This expectation proved vain, a number of the members of the expedition were captured, some of whom were slain, and others were held in captivity for months.

Naturally, this embarrassed the United States government, which did as much as it could to allay Spanish fears that the expedition had in any way been officially endorsed.

Before the agitation over these two efforts had entirely subsided, the "Ostend Manifesto" was issued in 1854. This was one of the most amazing incidents in the history of the United States. Pierre Soulé, a distinguished American statesman of foreign birth, was sent to Madrid in 1853 in the hope of negotiating a treaty that would cede Cuba to the United States. At first he used cajolery and then threats, but without in the least accomplishing his purpose. In 1854, Secretary of State Marcy suggested that the American ministers to Great Britain, France, and Spain meet to consider whether there was any diplomatic way in which the desired end could be accomplished. These ministers—James Buchanan, John Y. Mason, and Soulé—conferred at Ostend and issued what became known as the Ostend Manifesto. It was a recital of the wrongs which the United States had suffered at the hands of Spain, and especially set forth the desirability of the possession of Cuba by the United States and of its sale by Spain at a maximum price,—afterward fixed at one hundred and twenty million dollars,—and finally it stated that, if Spain would not sell, the question would remain whether the United States might not be obliged to take the island by force in order to preserve the internal peace and integrity of the Union.

The United States government did not approve of the manifesto, which simply added fuel to the flame of hostility to slavery extension which was then blazing over all the North. There never was any hope, after this, that Spain would peaceably give up the island, and the matter was soon forgotten in the excitement of the Civil War. After the War, there were still those who believed that Cuba must eventually become a possession of the United States; and it is certain that when the revolution of 1868 broke out, many of the "patriots" in the island expected aid from Washington, or at least that there would be tacit permission of filibustering expeditions in support of the revolutionists. This was not in accordance with public opinion in the United States. An armed expedition did leave the United

States on the steamer *Virginianus*, on which were Captain Fry and nine American citizens. This vessel was captured on October 31, 1873, off the coast of Cuba, and the entire crew of fifty-seven were shot down in Santiago after only the semblance of a trial.

The excitement in the United States was extraordinary. President Grant was particularly incensed, because this action was in such strong contrast with that of his administration during the whole conflict. At first he was willing to follow the lead of a number of South American States and acknowledge the belligerency of the Cuban revolutionists. He directed Secretary of State Fish to issue such a state paper, but on the earnest recommendation of the secretary it was not signed. There is little doubt that if General Grant had acted as he originally intended, the revolution would have succeeded, although it might have provoked a war with Spain. There was a great demand in the United States that war be declared against Spain, but the matter was finally settled by diplomacy. When the war in Cuba ended by compromise in 1878, Spain made promises of reform which were not kept, apparently were not intended to be kept. During the revolution the Spanish governor-general had acted with a cruelty toward the islanders which had shocked the American people. These acts seemed more like those of the sixteenth than of the nineteenth century, and the refugees in the United States told many tales of bloodshed and of outrages of the most horrible kind.

The Spanish administration of Cuba was the reverse of the colonial policy which Great Britain had pursued for a century with such distinguished success. Practically, the island was in the control of a governor-general, and all legislation concerning it was enacted at Madrid. Taxation was high and unequal. It was based upon no proper consideration, and though the balance sheets showed that the island was really an expense to Spain, it was in fact a source of great revenue to the officials and to a horde of young Spaniards who went there to make fortunes which they took

the Louisiana State Lottery was driven from the State whose name it bore, it fled to Honduras and endeavored to maintain an existence through the use of express companies; the mails having been denied them. The act in question closed the last available avenue to the lotteries, and since that time this form of gambling has been almost entirely suppressed in the United States.

The question of the presidential succession had been prominent from the inception of the administration. It was well known that Cleveland would not consent again to be a candidate for reëlection, and the Republicans were divided upon the candidacy of several important leaders. McKinley, of Ohio, had long been a popular man. His name was associated with the tariff bill rejected by the people in 1890 and 1892, but when the Republican wave spread over the country in 1894 it appeared that there was a revolution of sentiment. His strongest competitor was Thomas B. Reed, of Maine, Speaker of the House of Representatives, a man of extraordinary abilities. The contest for the nomination took up a great deal of the last year of the Cleveland administration, and the Republican party ignored precedent by holding a convention before that of the party in power. The future of the Democratic party was involved with that of the Populist, and the Republicans considered it good strategy to get early into the field. The Republican convention assembled in St. Louis, on June 16, 1896. It seemed certain that McKinley would be the successful candidate. His campaign was in the hands of Marcus A. Hanna, of Cleveland, Ohio, a new man in politics, who surprised everyone by the astuteness of his work. While there was some little doubt as to the result of the nomination, all felt that it really hung upon the question of silver. In the East, members of the party were generally for a strong gold platform. In the West, there were many who had been long in the party, but were now allied with the silver faction. The result was to be determined by the action of the Middle West. The Ohio platform had

declared for sound money in what was felt by many to be an equivocal statement. The interest in the meeting of the convention was largely centred in what Hanna, representing McKinley, would do. There has been in later years much controversy over what happened before the platform was arranged, but it seems now generally conceded that there never was a time when any candidate would declare for any adjustment that did not involve the gold standard or international bimetallism. Hanna, in after years, deeply felt the allegation that he had been equivocal on this point, and made statements, accepted by most of his party, to the effect that at no time was any question involved other than the mere choice of language in which to express the cardinal doctrine of the Republican party on the gold basis.

McKinley was nominated on the first ballot, and the platform adopted was for gold, unless the rest of the nations of the earth would establish bimetallism (which the party pledged itself to promote).

When this was determined upon, there was a striking scene in the convention. Senator Teller, of Colorado, one of the oldest members of the party, pleaded against such action; and when there was no answer to his protest, he left the convention, followed by thirty-three delegates from far Western States, many of whom had long been in official life. Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey, was nominated for vice-president on the first ballot, and the convention adjourned with a feeling that the situation was more serious than any other that had confronted the party in many years. All felt that the result of the election depended almost entirely upon the action of the Democratic convention, which would meet in Chicago on July 7th.

The Democratic party was in an unusual plight. The great mass of the delegates elected to the Chicago convention were opposed to the policy of President Cleveland, and in favor of free silver. It was not known whether the necessary two-thirds vote would be cast against this proposition, and many of the Eastern men felt that there was a

chance to make a deadlock which would result in a compromise. Under the rules of the Democratic party it takes only a majority to adopt a platform, while a two-thirds vote must decide the nomination. This regulation had worked woe at Charleston in 1860, and the conditions were in some respects the same in 1896.

In the East, there was a determination to support the president in his gold policy, and a strenuous effort was made before the convention met to secure a compromise on a candidate who could carry the country. This failed. When the convention met in Chicago, there were numerous contested delegations, the most important being that of Nebraska, where William J. Bryan, a former congressman, had fought against the leadership of Secretary Morton. The delegation in support of Morton had received the preliminary credentials, though it was claimed that the Bryan delegation represented Democratic sentiment in the State.

The convention was one of the most interesting in American history. The contesting delegations which favored free silver were seated in every case, in spite of the vigorous protest of the Eastern delegates. The platform was a matter of serious contention. There were many members of the convention who really believed in free silver as a doctrine, but who thought it might possibly be unwise at the time to force the issue on that question. The discussion waxed warm, and finally resulted in a climax that has been unparalleled in American history. Bryan, who had just been seated with his delegates, went to the platform and made a remarkable speech. He advocated the doctrine of free silver directly, vigorously, and uncompromisingly, and his peroration has seldom been equalled for its effect upon an audience. Up to this time, Bryan had hardly been considered as a candidate. He was young and vigorous, but had been so little in public life that there was scarcely any following devoted to his interests. His speech decided the platform. It was uncompromisingly for free silver, regardless of the action of other nations. There have been few assemblies

in America so dominated by a single speech, and the triumph was so singularly a personal one that Bryan was immediately looked upon as a strong candidate for the nomination. The Eastern delegates objected to the platform, and many of them left the convention and took no further part in the proceedings. Those who remained scouted the defection, and proceeded with the nominations. The leading candidate was Richard P. Bland, a veteran member of Congress from Missouri, to whom the silver propagandists were most indebted. It was his bill which had passed Congress in 1878, partially restoring the silver dollar to circulation. He was, however, under the disadvantage of coming from a State assuredly Democratic, and he had been so long in public life as to have alienated many of his party. In the balloting to settle the issue Bryan gained steadily, until on the fifth ballot he was nominated by acclamation.

There has seldom been a time when enthusiasm and eloquence have accomplished so much. The convention completed its labors by nominating for vice-president Arthur Sewall, of Maine, a ship owner and bank officer, who was not in sympathy with the platform. This caused trouble at once. Many of the members of the convention felt that a mistake had been made in selecting such a man to run on a ticket that was opposed to his general principles, or at least to his financial career. Accordingly, when the Populist convention met at St. Louis, July 22d, there was deep dissatisfaction. The Democratic party, as represented by Cleveland, had been disavowed at Chicago, and conservative Democrats generally felt that at Chicago the Populists had captured both the platform and the candidate. After a rather exciting convention, Bryan was named for president, but the delegates would have none of Sewall and on the first ballot named Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, for vice-president.

The campaign which followed was unusually earnest and exciting. There was no personal scandal invoked on either side, and all felt that the financial question was

dominant. The conservative Democrats of the Cleveland wing of the party held a convention in Indianapolis on September 2d and nominated for president General John M. Palmer, of Illinois, and for vice-president, General Simon Bolivar Buckner, of Kentucky. This was a side issue and a strategic move on the part of what were termed Sound Money Democrats, and was made simply to salve the conscience of those who felt that they could not vote for the Chicago nominees. In truth, it was a sort of halfway station that was arranged for many persons who could by easy stages determine to support an independent Democratic ticket, and then go over to the Republican party. The situation was the more interesting because of the character and personality of the nominees. General Palmer had been one of the leading corps commanders in the Civil War, had been long a Republican, and had served as governor of Illinois. Later, having joined the Democratic party, he was elected senator. He was respected for his abilities, courage, and integrity. General Buckner was a Kentuckian, who had fought in the Confederate ranks, though coming from a Union State. His career, though creditable, was not so distinguished as that of some of his associates. He was known as one of the early friends of Grant, one who, at a critical time in Grant's life, had offered him his purse, and who later surrendered his sword to Grant at Fort Donelson. After the War they were as strong friends as ever. Many of the original war Democrats were drawn to the Indianapolis candidates. In the end it appears that most of them voted for McKinley, though it is asserted that they would not have done so had there been no alternative.

Many interesting incidents marked the campaign. McKinley, who had served with credit in the Civil War, remained at his home in Canton, Ohio, and spoke to delegations as they arrived. He was not an orator, but had a remarkable facility for speaking to a public audience. He could say things which were pleasing and which seemed to imbue each auditor with the notion that he was the direct object

of all the remarks. Many delegations of former soldiers of the Civil War visited him. At this time an issue was made of Cleveland's vetoes of special pension bills. The president took the ground that the laws were sufficiently liberal, and that those who came for special relief were not in all cases worthy. Scores of these special bills passed Congress at every session during Cleveland's two terms, but by vetoing a small number of them the president probably caused more comment and contention than by any other of his official acts. In nearly every case Congress passed the bills over his vetoes, not even Democrats being willing to stand by him. Cleveland was the first president after 1860 who had not been connected directly with the Civil War. McKinley was looked upon as the friend of the soldier, and gained much support from the soldier vote.

Unlike McKinley's campaign, that of Bryan was the most extensive in itinerary of any presidential candidate up to that time. He made what was known as a whirlwind campaign, visiting all parts of the country and making many speeches not only on set occasions but almost hourly from the rear of his train. The Republican managers were astonished at the public demonstrations in favor of Bryan, and in October they were much alarmed over the prospects. Some shrewd observers have said that if the election had taken place early in October, Bryan would have been elected. Such statements must be taken with reserve. It is not possible to tell what might have happened. When the returns were received in November, it was seen that McKinley had triumphed in an unusual manner. He not only received a large majority in the electoral college but actually had a majority of the popular vote, something that had seldom occurred since the choice of electors has been given to the people.

In this campaign there was less bitterness than usual. Many felt kindly toward the Democratic candidate, though they could not support his views. The vote for the war candidates on the Sound Money Democratic ticket were few

in number, but they represented an interesting element in history. It is a pleasing commentary on American politics that the canvass was so clean and so free from bitterness. The issue was solely that of the currency, and it was so understood, though the feeling on both sides was intense.

This was the first campaign in which a third element was introduced as a sort of sop to those who did not care to break party allegiance. It was the first time that a Federal and an ex-Confederate ran on the same ticket, neither having the hope or the possibility of success. This went a long way toward eliminating the sectional feeling that had been so bitter for a generation. General Palmer had endeared himself to the South in that he had been in command of Kentucky during a critical time and had served with discretion and distinction. General Buckner was popular at the South because he had been one of the early advocates of secession. If such a canvass had taken place ten years earlier there would have been a revolt; but since Confederate generals had marched in the line as pall bearers at General Grant's funeral in 1885 there had been little of the sectional feeling left. Indeed, what is known as the "era of good feeling" apparently had its beginning in this campaign.

In this campaign one of the speakers was General Heth, of Virginia, one of Lee's most trusted lieutenants. He led the Confederate troops into the battle of Gettysburg, and fell wounded, just before the Federal General Reynolds was killed. General Heth survived and reached Appomattox at the last moment and took part in the surrender. He has told with emotion that whereas he expected Grant to meet him as a conqueror he found him the chum of West Point student days. This is mentioned because the campaign of 1896 was the last in which the issues of the Civil War bore any part.

The election of McKinley brought sorrow to the opposition because it was felt that the economic issues involved were permanent and vital. There had been an unusual realignment of votes in the campaign, and while the East

seemed satisfied, there were many in the West who thought that an intolerable injustice was to be perpetrated. At the same time the elections favored the Republicans in Congress. When McKinley came into office he found substantial working majorities in both Houses, though the Senate was not so decisively Republican as the House of Representatives.

CHAPTER XV

THE GROWTH OF MANUFACTURES

IN 1861 was passed the so-called Morrill tariff, which was protective. It replaced the "Walker" tariff as amended in 1857, and was constructed also with a view to the Civil War, which was then felt to be impending. For twenty-two years this act remained on the statute books, though it was frequently amended, and by the time it was displaced many of its original provisions had been changed. It was unscientific and pleased no one. In the older alignment of parties the Whigs, under the leadership of Henry Clay, had been in favor of protection to American industries, while the Democratic party had generally professed hostility to the doctrine. In their two brief administrations the Whigs had accomplished very little in behalf of their favorite doctrine, but in 1860 there was a growing sentiment in favor of protection, which was largely voiced by the young Republican party.

For many years this was not made an absolute party doctrine, nor could protectionists and free traders—or those favoring a purely revenue tariff—be ranged in party lines. There were men of both classes in each of the leading parties. It was, however, a general Republican doctrine that there should be protection, while Democracy wavered or hedged in its opinions on this subject. Still, some of the leading Republicans and Republican newspapers favored a tariff for revenue only and did not thereby lose their party standing.

The impulse given to domestic manufactures by the unusual demands growing out of the Civil War was great; and as soon as that contest ended, it was necessary to turn to making goods that could be used in peaceful vocations. Some readjustment was necessary but the friction was not so great as had been expected, owing to the fact that the home consumption increased so rapidly. At this time the finer grades of manufactures in many schedules were imported, but there was a constant growth of American enterprise and an unceasing demand for more protection, so that the field of operations might be increased.

Before 1870 the greater part of the manufacturing in the country was done by individual owners of factories and mills. In some cases there were copartnerships, and in a few large enterprises the business, notably some cotton mills in New England, was in the hands of a corporation. As a rule, however, the head of a factory was its owner and sole director, and he was in constant association with his employés. As business developed and factories were enlarged, it became more and more customary to form corporations to carry on the trade. Sometimes the directors were practical men who had always engaged in the business, but, as time passed on, more often they were mere investors. The demand for capital was so great that it soon became impossible for most large enterprises to continue under a single ownership and direction. By 1883 the corporation was popular, though not entirely approved by all. Some social economists, as well as some more directly interested, feared that the separation of owners and workmen, the difference in management and control, would result in a permanent estrangement between employers and employed, and establish distinct social classes. As a fact, there had always been more or less friction, and it would be impossible to make broad generalizations on the subject. The corporation manufactory grew rapidly in favor after the passage of the tariff act of 1883, which was drawn as a result of an extended investigation of the subject by a commission

appointed by Congress. This commission was professedly non-partisan, and declared that the result of its labors was of the same character.

The tariff bill of 1883 was more protective in many of its features than any which had preceded it, but, so far from representing the attitude of the commission, it was a veritable result of "log rolling." There was an extension of the free list to articles which were non-competitive, but the act as a whole was more protective than the emasculated Morrill Act, and much more crudely prepared. In this, as in every act of the sort, there was a good deal of give and take between contending interests; so that it was not a scientific measure, even from the standpoint of high-tariff enthusiasts, though it was to some extent an improvement over the older law in that it was more easily administered. Its most notable feature was the reduction in internal revenue taxes which had now become necessary, since the revenues of the government exceeded the necessary expenditure. Still, the law was so inequitable that it suited only those interests which happened to be particularly well protected.

There were objections to this bill, especially from the wool growers, who felt that they had been unjustly treated, while the iron men were not satisfied with all the classifications under their schedules. In some respects the bill, as emasculated and remodelled, was so incongruous that it seemed for a time as if it would not pass. John Sherman, who was again in the Senate, was so opposed to many features of the bill, which he considered unprotective, irrational, disproportionate, and improperly constructed, that at the last moment he well-nigh voted against it. Had he voted in the negative, as he ever afterward wished he had done, the bill would have failed entirely.

At this time the Republicans had a small majority in the House and were tied in the Senate, but party lines did not entirely govern votes on this measure. In the House, William R. Morrison, of Illinois, was the ardent opponent of protection in any form, and assumed a leadership on this

side of the question which he maintained for many years. This measure had more to do with aligning parties on the subject than any which had preceded. Still, in 1884 the Democratic party platform, after denouncing the Republican party's position on the tariff, took pains to declare in favor of a tariff to be so adjusted that, after paying the necessary expenses of the government, it would protect labor and capital. This, though decidedly equivocal, was felt to be necessary, since many Democrats insisted that General Hancock's declaration in 1880 that the tariff was a local issue had cost him the election. It is notable that at this convention former Speaker Randall was a leading candidate for the presidential nomination until near the time of balloting, when he withdrew in favor of Governor Grover Cleveland, of New York. Randall came from a Philadelphia district, and was a strong protectionist. In a brief time, Randall and the president—Cleveland—broke off all relations over the question of the tariff.

When Cleveland came to the presidency he did not seem to hold very serious convictions on the question of protection, though his leanings had always been in the direction of a tariff for revenue only. The Democratic party had control of the House, but the Senate was Republican, so that no partisan legislation was possible. Morrison, as chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, reported a bill which was essentially one for revenue only, though some protection elements still remained. The Republicans made a fierce attack on this measure, and Randall, with the support of a few of his party, also attacked it and reported in its stead a protective measure, differing widely from that of the existing law. This defection aroused the ire of Cleveland, who put Randall and his associates under the ban of his displeasure, depriving them of patronage and, so far as possible, of party influence. This was a great grief to Randall, who felt that he had been in a measure responsible for Cleveland's nomination and thought he deserved better treatment. He did not long survive the assaults made

upon him, and died a broken-hearted man. He had been in Congress for almost a generation, was a man of commanding abilities, but never used his position to advance his fortunes, and at his death left an estate of only a few hundred dollars.

The Morrison Bill failed in the Senate, and it appeared that the subject would lie over for awhile, but Cleveland astonished the country, in 1887, by devoting the whole of his annual message to the tariff, urging a revision in the interests of revenue only, and declaring strongly against protection. This was a singularly bold act, and was against the advice of some of his closest associates. To those who begged him to take a position in accord with the platform on which he had been elected Cleveland was unyielding. In the ensuing campaign, he was defeated largely on this issue.

When the Republican party, in 1889, returned to power it considered it had a mandate from the people, and a new law was passed, commonly known as the McKinley Bill, because William McKinley, Jr., was chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, which reported the measure. This was frankly more protective than any measure which had preceded it. The duties averaged higher on the articles subjected to a tariff, but there was an extension of the free list. Chiefly as the result of the insistence of Secretary Blaine, reciprocity with foreign nations was provided for in the bill. What aroused as much contention as anything else was a tariff on tin plate in the interest of American manufacturers of sheet iron who wished to engage in the business. The iron and steel schedules were more protective than ever. It has been noted that the tariff figured largely in the investigations after the strike at the Homestead mills in 1892, in which year the defeat of the Republican party was due in part, as was claimed, to the tariff issue.

When Cleveland returned to the presidency in 1893 he had abated none of his hostility to protection, and this time he had both House and Senate in political accord with him. A new measure, first known as the Wilson Bill, was passed

by the House, establishing a great reduction of duties and involving the principle of a tariff for revenue only, though still affording incidental protection. This measure was sent to the Senate, where the administration expected it would pass without important changes. But here arose another of those conditions so often met with in legislation. There were Democratic senators, who, while academically opposed to protection, hesitated to go so far as the Wilson Bill, fearing a reaction would set in and drive the party from power once more. A conservative spirit was manifested, and details of a compromise were largely left to Senator Gorman, of Maryland, who was a protectionist, though he had not broken with his party on the tariff issue.

In remaking the Wilson Bill some of the cleverest manœuvring known in the history of "log-rolling" was performed. The members of the Senate were generally warm personal friends regardless of party affiliations. It has long been the custom in that body occasionally to permit of tactics in the interest of some member, even if of the opposition party, so long as no harm is done to the party in control. It was certain that the rates in the Wilson Bill were to be increased, but to what extent was uncertain. Republican senators, and especially Senator Matthew Stanley Quay, of Pennsylvania, prepared minimum schedules below which they would not go, even if they filibustered forever. These schedules were considered by Gorman and his associates as marking generally the lines on which the new bill would be formed, if any was to pass. To oblige Senator Quay and a few others, however, it was agreed by Gorman to report from the committee even higher schedules than the minimum, which were in many cases more protective than those of the tariff of 1883, with the understanding that on the floor of the Senate they could be cut down to the level already mentioned. This, it was argued, would give cheap glory at home to some senators who favored protection and it would not hurt the Democratic party. The result was that the bill, when reported to the Senate, was hardly recognizable

by Wilson, since it was what not many years before would have been considered a strongly protective measure. It was not scientific from any point of view.

When, however, it was attempted on the floor of the Senate to reduce these fictitious schedules to the minimum agreed upon in the cloakroom, Senator Quay offered opposition. He claimed that the committee report should not be changed, and in support of this contention began the longest speech in the history of the Senate. Senator Quay's voice was very low and could hardly be heard in the galleries. He had never before made a speech or even any remarks of an extended character. He now began to read his views on the tariff in a low voice, from a pile of manuscript a foot high. This went on from day to day as soon as the tariff measure was before the Senate, and the threat was put forth by Quay that it might take a year for him to exhaust his remarks on the subject. The Democratic majority was obliged to capitulate, and the Gorman tariff was passed, which was far removed from the policy of the party of Gorman and from the original measure of Wilson. When committees of conference were held Quay served notice that if any changes were made he would be obliged to continue his speech in opposition to any measure at all. In a rage the House capitulated and the Wilson-Gorman Bill was passed. The president was so infuriated that he refused to sign the measure, and it became a law according to constitutional provision ten days after its passage.

At the time this measure was passed the country was financially and industrially in a depressed condition. Rightly or wrongly, a few succeeding unprosperous years were attributed to the new tariff, and this subject formed an issue in the campaign of 1896, which resulted in a victory for the party of protection. One of the first acts to pass under the McKinley administration was a new tariff law, known as the Dingley Bill, which was a modified form of the McKinley Bill, and this measure, with slight changes, is now (1905) in operation.

In the meantime notable changes had taken place in the industrial world. The privately owned factory had nearly disappeared, except where operated in a small way. The corporation had almost entirely supplanted prominent individual manufacturers. This, however, proved to be only a step. The principle of consolidation of interests, which at first was only local, soon became more widely extended. A desire arose on the part of every commercial interest to consolidate without regard to territory. This was the origin of the great corporations which came to be known as "trusts," a word which now conveys little of its original meaning. The name arose in the early stages of the consolidation movement, when a number of commercial enterprises were put in the hands of trustees, who were to have complete power in managing affairs for the benefit of the stockholders. These real trusts soon passed away, largely through legislative action, but the name adhered to such large corporations of a later day as controlled a considerable portion of any business.

There were many factors which led to the consolidation of manufacturing and other enterprises into large corporations. There had been a few successful organizations of the sort before 1890, but it was largely the hard times following the financial depression of 1893 which led to consolidations to prevent loss or bankruptcy. Furthermore, a generation of individual manufacturers who had become heads of relatively small corporations was passing away. The corporation led to putting men of best and most approved ability in charge rather than that the sons of owners should come into control. The idea of a conservation of interests aside from personality grew very rapidly in the last decade of the nineteenth century, and when the Spanish War brought about an expansion of ideas in the American mind the tendency to consolidation grew apace. It suited the idea of national growth and permitted the accumulation of large fortunes by selling securities based purely on prospective profits.

The result was that in the space of a few years there was a rush to consolidate mercantile and manufacturing enterprises into large corporations, and in the majority of cases this was accomplished with success. The plan was facilitated by the laws of New Jersey, which are exceptionally favorable to the formation of corporations with large powers, and tax them lightly. Under the Federal Constitution, charters granted by any State are valid in any other State. In a very few years, corporations covering a wide field of industry were chartered, chiefly in New Jersey, with a capitalization aggregating \$14,500,000,000. Some of the corporations have proved profitable and others have been failures. The question of the relation of such corporations to the republic was injected into politics, and at this writing it is an unsettled problem. That there was a temporary madness for speculation in these industrials is one of the peculiar exemplifications of the American temperament.

The only basis for comparison in the industrial history of the United States is found in the census statistics; but these are not entirely satisfactory. In 1860, the methods employed in securing data were not so efficient as those of later date, and the results are considered somewhat unreliable. Still, it may be that the data for 1900 contain as large a coefficient of error as those of earlier census years. At any rate, they afford the only substantial basis for comparison.

It would be tedious here and now to go into the details of all the various industries for comparisons. In the appendix to this volume will be found a series of tables which will give such information as the general reader may care for, and if more is desired, recourse may be had to the many volumes of census reports to be secured in any public library. There are a few items, however, which are worthy of attention.

The population in 1860 somewhat exceeded 31,000,000, including about four millions of negro slaves. In 1900, it was over 76,000,000, an increase of about 150 per cent.

If we compare the increase in population with that of industry the showing is amazing. In 1860, the country was essentially agricultural. There was a considerable manufacturing industry, but it was almost entirely in the hands of individuals, and hand work usually supplied most of the needs of any community. Goods made in large factories were still relatively few. Thus, we find that in 1860 there were some 128,300 factories, many of them very small, having a capital only slightly in excess of \$1,000,000,000, consuming fuel and raw material almost exactly equal in value to the capital, employing 1,385,000 persons (of whom only 285,000 were females) and furnishing an annual product of less than \$2,000,000,000. Although these figures seem very moderate at present they represented an immense advance over the statistics of 1850, averaging at least sixty per cent in the most important industries.

In 1900, there were 640,606 factories scheduled with a capital of almost \$10,000,000,000 employing well over 5,000,000 hands, using over \$7,000,000,000 worth of raw materials and giving a finished product estimated at over \$13,000,000,000. The advance in industrial production was out of all proportion to the increase in population, and may be accounted for on many grounds. It is noteworthy that the ratio of raw material to finished product remained nearly the same, about one to two. On the other hand, while in 1860 the average employé produced only about \$1,400 worth of manufactured goods in a year, in 1890 the average was nearly \$2,250 per capita. During this period the hours of labor had been greatly shortened, so that the average which was about eleven in 1860 was reduced to no more than nine in 1900. The difference in the output is attributable in part to increased skill, but chiefly to labor-saving machinery, which has been so remarkable a feature in the industrial progress of the United States.

Elsewhere, some of the most important of American inventions are described with some comment upon their influence in the development of American industry. But

it is not possible by figures or otherwise to explain fully the extraordinary increase in the channels of that industry. To a large extent machinery, employés, and methods have been imported bodily so that there has been a mere transfer from one country to another. But beyond this there has been an increase due to the extraordinary shrewdness which characterizes all American business management. Many adaptations of foreign inventions or methods have been made, and much has been done on an original basis. What seems to be the chief characteristic of American domestic manufactures, if the testimony of disinterested observers from abroad may be accepted, is that American employés do more work in a given time and are under better administrative control. Some of the greatest of European manufacturers have left on record their astonishment at the amount of work accomplished by Americans as compared with Europeans under the same conditions, but this has been less important than the fact that opportunity opens to every one. In European workshops the employer rarely comes in contact with his men; foremen are a class apart, and any effort at improvement in methods or machinery by employés is likely to be frowned upon. In America, it is noted, that there are many employers who were formerly workingmen, and there is a constant stimulus to improvement in every establishment, with rewards for special achievements. This is the democracy of labor which has accomplished so much good.

The sociological importance of the great corporation has been the subject of much discussion in many spheres of activity, and as yet without definite conclusions. It has been argued by sociologists and economists that the corporation is swallowing up individuality, and that the final result can be nothing but State socialism. On the other hand it is asserted with some confidence that the corporation is after all the democracy of trade, that it opens the door to men of ability regardless of personal influence, and is really democratic in its tendencies. It is argued in behalf

of this contention that the chief officers of nearly every corporation in the country were formerly young men without fortune or family influence, and that they have achieved distinction on their merits in a way that was impossible under the old system.

The substantial fact is that in forty years the United States changed from a nation that largely imported manufactures to one which was able to supply most of its wants and sell very considerably to foreign nations. In 1905 the percentages of exports were as follows: Products of agriculture, 55.03; of manufactures, 36.44; of mining, 3.39; of forestry, 4.16; and the rest miscellaneous. In 1880 the proportion of agriculture was over 83 per cent, while manufactures were a little more than 12 per cent. The tendency is steadily in the directions noted. Beginning with the adoption of the Constitution the official figures show that the total imports of the United States to 1905 were valued at \$36,000,000,000, and the exports at \$41,000,000,000.

In recent years the balance of trade has been heavily in favor of the United States, amounting in some years to five hundred million dollars. For a century America drew on Europe very largely for money to invest in many enterprises, and there was a large sum in interest to pay annually; moreover, Americans travelling abroad spend enormous sums. It was estimated in 1905, however, that if a balance were struck between the United States and the rest of the world, there would be little on either side of the ledger. The fact that American financial institutions had invested heavily in the bonds of Japan, Russia, and Cuba, indicated that it was at least approaching the condition of a creditor nation. It was estimated by the same authority that were it not for the fact that Americans had to settle with foreigners for nine-tenths of the ocean freights and for personal purchases and travelling expenses abroad, there would be a heavy inflow of coin annually into the United States. Treasury statistics show that comparatively little gold passes back and forth across the ocean, so that settlements are made in other ways.

The wealth of the United States is estimated by the treasury experts at about one hundred and ten billion dollars. Such figures are of course of only relative value, but they are instructive when compared with those of other nations computed on the same basis. By these it appears that not only is the wealth of America greatly in excess of that of any other nation, but that the annual increase is larger than ever before, and phenomenal as compared with that of any other nation.

The American factory system is one that is in many respects original. Its chief characteristic is a perfection of detail which makes interchangeable all parts of a mechanical product. While most nations of the world—except as imitators of the American practice—have continued to make every product, especially in mechanical devices, on an individual basis, the American plan is to have every part interchangeable, so that renewals can be made without trouble. This has had the effect of stimulating the sale of American-made machines the world over. Another feature of this system is that it lends itself to rapidity of construction. American industries have many special advantages, but rapidity has been one of the factors which has led to the construction of bridges in India and Africa by Americans under conditions which have astonished the world. American locomotives are found on nearly every railway in the world, though not on many in Europe as compared with those in Asia and Australia. American machinery, and especially tools for making machinery, are either to be found in all progressive factories of the world or else are copied by native machinists. In no country in the world does the mechanic perform so little manual labor as in America, and in none is the average annual product so high.

An illustration of the advance made in American enterprise is afforded by the iron and steel industry. At the time of the Centennial celebration steel rails were almost exclusively imported, and cost about ninety dollars per ton. They were used only by the oldest and most prosperous roads,

others using iron rails or those with a steel top only. The stimulus of a protective tariff, of enterprise and ingenuity combined with the discovery of vast beds of iron ore which could be cheaply mined, resulted in establishing an important American industry. It was not long before steel rails were made as cheaply in the United States as abroad, and were actually sold in the foreign markets. The immense beds of iron ore in the region of Lake Superior have had a remarkable influence on the development of American industries. This ore lends itself to the Bessemer treatment, is found in enormous quantities, and is easy of access. There are many mines where the total cost of placing a ton of ore on the cars does not exceed fifteen cents. The lakes provide a highway for cheap transportation to Cleveland, Lorain, and Ashtabula, on Lake Erie, whence the distance is short to the immense mills at or near Pittsburg.

The United States Steel Corporation, which in 1905 controlled about one-half of the iron and steel trade of the country, is a typical example, financially and industrially, of the modern corporation. It is composed of a majority of the largest and best-equipped iron and steel mills in America, controls an enormous amount of ore, and owns large fields of bituminous coal, from which coke is made. The consolidation of so many institutions was an unusual event simply because of the magnitude of the financial operations involved. The total capitalization approached one billion five hundred million dollars, or nearly double the estimated cost of the lands and factories. Of this total, common stock representing five hundred million dollars was admittedly based on contingent profits, and was not supposed to represent any vested interest. Preferred stock to practically the same amount was supposed to represent, with the bonded indebtedness, the actual cost of the various establishments, together with the increment of value which had come from the increase of business and the development of resources.

The consolidation was effected because the competition of the Carnegie mills threatened the stability of many other

like enterprises. Owing to the unusually highly developed organization at the Carnegie mills, and to their extraordinary resources, it was possible to manufacture a product more cheaply there than in any other place in America, probably in the whole world. The situation, avowedly, was such that the Carnegie mills would soon dominate the trade and probably drive many old establishments out of business. The consolidation of interests into the United States Steel Corporation was the most gigantic in history, and the career of the company during the first five years of organization proved extraordinary as showing the mercurial character of both American business and speculative values. Judged by prices on the Stock Exchange, the value of the stocks varied three hundred and seventy-five million dollars in a single year.

Typical of American industry is the method employed by this corporation in producing finished material. From the moment a steam shovel lifts a ton of ore from its natural bed in Michigan or Minnesota to a car beside it, until it is delivered as a finished product, there is no loss of time or money that can be avoided. The ore is conveyed in the company's cars over its own railroad to its dock on Lake Superior where it is automatically dumped; and, in time, almost automatically loaded into a steamer belonging to the company. At the Lake Erie port the ore is automatically unloaded, placed in company cars, and transported to Pittsburg on a railroad owned by the corporation. So far, the conditions might be paralleled elsewhere. The remaining process is more remarkable. The ore, with coke and limestone, is hauled in an endless chain of buckets to the top of a blast furnace and dumped. In a few hours there issues from the base of the furnace a limpid stream of iron which, in most mills, would be allowed to cool and become the commodity known as pig iron. No such plan is pursued here. The molten mass is emptied into a train of steel cars and carried immediately to the steel department where it is converted with little loss of heat into

Bessemer steel, and, before its temperature is reduced to any notable extent, the steel mass is run through the mills, and is a completed product for the market, when, for the first time, it is allowed to cool.

This system is typical of the ingenuity and enterprise of American manufacturers in many branches of industry, and is not elsewhere paralleled. The perfection of many articles has reached such a development that in the whole world they have no competitors. Sewing machines, typewriters, cash registers, and many other articles are practically without competitors in the markets of the world.

CHAPTER XVI

IMMIGRATION AND MOVEMENTS OF POPULATION

IN June, 1900, according to census returns there were in the United States 10,356,644 persons of foreign birth, and 26,198,939 who were either born abroad or had one or both parents of foreign birth. This last total was 34.3 per cent of the whole population. This is a larger percentage than is found in any other important country in the world and demonstrates to what an extent immigration has been a factor in the development of the United States. From the taking of the Census of 1900 to the close of the fiscal year of 1905, there arrived 3,833,998 immigrants. A small number of these returned to the country of their birth, but in the meantime probably a greater number of children were born of foreign parentage. Taking the estimate of the population in 1905 at 83,000,000, it is evident that the "foreign parentage" section of the population was then considerably larger than in 1900.

The immigration problem belongs chiefly to the last forty years. The inflow from 1819 to the close of 1860 amounted to a little over 5,000,000 souls. Of these about 2,000,000 came from Ireland, mostly after the famine period in the middle forties, about 750,000 from Great Britain, not quite a million and a half from Germany (most of these after the revolutions of 1848), and the remainder from various nations, principally in the West of Europe. Italy was credited with only 11,000 or about as many as have arrived in a single week in more recent times. During

the Civil War there was a falling off in immigration, which, however, rapidly recovered and increased at the end of the conflict largely because of the opening up of the Western lands through the construction of railways. The immigrants who settled on the arable lands in the West were largely Germans and Scandinavians. The Irish were more apt to settle in the cities. By 1870 there were in the United States 5,567,229 persons of foreign birth, an increase in ten years of almost 1,500,000. The "foreign-parentage" population in the same year had increased to almost 11,000,000. Comparison with ten years previous is not possible, because the basis for 1860 does not exist. In 1890 the foreign-parentage population had almost doubled over 1870, being in excess of 20,000,000 and amounting to thirty-three per cent of the total.

Of the more than 26,000,000 of foreign parentage in the country in 1900, almost thirty per cent were from Germany, nineteen per cent from Ireland, eight per cent from England, and eight per cent from Canada. Norway was represented by three per cent, Sweden by four, and the other nations by very small percentages.

These figures, however, give no conception of the change in the racial character of a new wave of immigration which began somewhat before 1900, but which in the succeeding five years changed very materially from the general averages as given above representing the country of birth for the whole foreign parentage population. Of the 1,027,421 immigrants who arrived in the year ending on June 30, 1905, almost seventy-five per cent came from Italy, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. The proportion for the five years was almost as large, so that the immigrants from those three countries in that period numbered more than the aggregate from the same countries living in the United States in 1900. Germany, Scandinavia, and Great Britain and Ireland, which had already supplied the bulk of the foreign population, were represented by very small percentages in the arrivals of the five years mentioned.

The distribution of the "foreign-parentage" population is of interest. That population is greatest in the northern portion of the United States and is tolerably well distributed over it. Thus, in 1900, the North Atlantic division contained almost 11,000,000, the South Atlantic only 598,430, the North Central division almost 12,000,000, the South Central just over 1,000,000, and the Western division less than 2,000,000. Of the total population of the North Atlantic division, more than 51 per cent were of foreign parentage, in the North Central division the percentage was 45, in the Western division almost 48. These figures are in marked contrast with the South, where the percentages were for the South Atlantic States less than 9 per cent, and for the South Central less than 11 per cent.

Out of 160 cities reporting a population of 25,000 or over, there were 89 in which the "foreign parentage" element was in excess of 50 per cent of the total population. These are some of the percentages of the larger cities: New York 77, Philadelphia 55, Chicago 77, Boston 72, Cincinnati 60, Milwaukee 83, St. Louis 61. In the South most of the foreign population is in the cities, but in every case it is less than 50 per cent of the total, and generally is not more than 10 or 15.

This remarkable division of the United States into two sections in relation to foreign-born population is to a great extent offset by the fact that there are some ten million negroes in the South. There is no reason to doubt that the South would have received its proportional share of immigrants but for the institution of domestic slavery and the presence of so large a negro population now. It is possible that the share would not have been quite so large in recent years, because the public lands of the South were rapidly taken up under slavery, largely for growing cotton. At the beginning of the Civil War there was not in the South a large body of arable land unoccupied east of Mississippi River. Texas had been only partially settled, but the fact that available free soil was so much vaster in extent than that which

had been reserved for slavery was one of the leading factors in the political disputes that ended in war.

It is interesting to note the westward movement of population from the time the first census was taken in 1790. In that year the centre of population was about thirty miles east of Baltimore in latitude about thirty-nine degrees and twenty minutes. In the hundred and ten years succeeding, the centre of population moved west steadily at the rate of approximately one degree of longitude in each decade and never at any time varied twenty-five miles from the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude and most of the time was within ten miles of it. Considering how many and various have been the elements which have entered into the geographical changes of population through immigration, addition of territory, wars, and other factors, the steady westward movement of the centre of population at a fairly uniform rate along the same parallel is remarkable. The only notable change was in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The movement was still directly West, but amounted to only about twenty miles. The centre in that year was about sixty miles south and a little east of Indianapolis, Indiana.

The problem of immigration has changed its aspect at various times in the history of America. In an early day all arrivals were welcomed as lands were plentiful and waiting to be developed. But by the middle of the nineteenth century there had grown up considerable opposition to the freedom with which so many foreigners were not only admitted to citizenship, but were chosen to office. There was a large population of Irish descent in the principal cities of the North and the aptitude of the Irishman for politics was abundantly manifested wherever opportunity arose. The Know-nothing party arose out of opposition to the growth in political influence of the foreign-born citizens. The proportion of foreign to native born citizens at that time was nothing like so great as fifty years later, but the cry that was made indicated a great deal of alarm in some sections of the country. In Massachusetts, New

York, Pennsylvania, and a few other States of the North, the Know-nothings had a remarkable though transitory success. The propaganda was on a false basis and soon disappeared from politics, though it left some bitterness which was renewed in later years. About 1890 a similar movement by a body known as the American Protective Association had a brief popularity, though threatening for a time to exert a widespread influence.

In the Federal armies there were very many soldiers of foreign birth or parentage and they acquitted themselves with credit. Some of the volunteer generals who rose to prominence were foreigners, and the fact that so many of the immigrants during the conflict enlisted in the Federal army did much to dissipate the prejudice that had been manifested in former years.

The westward movement after the War had several causes. All the foreigners who had served therein were entitled to homesteads, many lands were open to preemption by foreigners, and the construction of railways over the prairies made it easy to secure farms. The German and Scandinavian immigrants were frugal and industrious. They were good farmers and used to more privations than the average American. The Teutonic element was a great factor in developing the Northwest, all the more because of the liberality of the Western States, most of which admitted to citizenship all who had taken out their first naturalization papers. To the German or Scandinavian used to the hard conditions in Europe, where the man who owned even a small farm was an object of envy, and where political life had been full of many troubles, the possibility of owning a large farm and of being a citizen of the United States was the most attractive prize that the world afforded. It has been a matter of much surprise that so many managed to secure even the modest sum necessary to reach the western lands. For a time there was some fear that Germany would be almost depopulated. The movement ceased before the end of the century, by which time Germany had

made a remarkable gain in population in spite of those millions who had left her shores.

While the figures already quoted show the even distribution of the foreign population through the North, the actual influence of foreigners has been greatest in the States west of Indiana. In the Eastern States the foreign population, with few exceptions, has been entirely assimilated, and the immigration has caused but little shock to the ordinary course of events. Although Massachusetts has received an immense French-speaking population from Canada it has not interfered with the normal development of the State or disturbed political conditions. Almost sixty-three per cent of the population are of foreign parentage; yet Massachusetts prides itself on being one of the most progressive of American States.

In New York city the foreign element has long been a factor in politics. Usually the city is Democratic in local elections, and Republicans have often ascribed this to the fact that there is so large a foreign element, forgetting that in other great cities with a similar distribution of population the majority is Republican. Yet that New York is not uniformly Democratic, and that the foreigner is influenced by the same political considerations as the native American is shown by the fact that the city has sometimes cast a Democratic majority for a local ticket and at the same election given a Republican majority for the national candidates.

Pennsylvania has long had a serious problem on its hands in the mining regions. Originally most of the miners in the anthracite regions were Irish. Now they are almost entirely Slav. The Hungarians, Poles, and Magyars were formerly assisted to this country by mine owners. Congress in 1887 passed a law prohibiting the importation of contract labor. In later years there were stringent regulations made against the admission of paupers, the diseased, and anarchists. This resulted in turning back a considerable number of those who reached a port of entry, but, as figures indicate, did not in the least stem the tide. Laws have been

recently introduced into Congress looking to much greater restrictions. It has been demanded that the present definition of a pauper be changed and that each immigrant should be required to possess a larger sum of money. It has been proposed also to make an educational test, but so far there has been no such action taken. In spite of inspection, many vicious and immoral persons constantly arrive.

By arrangements made with foreign countries, consuls and other agents of the United States have to an extent coöperated with local officials to prevent so far as possible the departure of those liable to be returned. The great difficulties which have arisen with respect to the Italian and Slav immigrants because of physical, moral, or intellectual condition are outside the purview of existing statutes. The mass of arrivals in the last five years have remained at or near the Atlantic seaboard. The gain of almost five hundred thousand in the population of New York City in five years is largely attributable to the increment from foreign ports.

The case of the Italian immigrants is singular because of the fact that so large a proportion of them return to their homes annually to spend the winter months. The Italians have become the common laborers of the East. They work hard, are usually well disposed, and expend much less than the average American. They save their earnings for occasional, if not annual, trips to their former homes, with the intention in many cases of eventually remaining there to live upon the money earned in America. This has introduced a new feature into the problem as presented to the public. It may be added that there is annually an influx of criminals and members of the proletariat of Europe, who are assisted by local authorities with the view of getting rid of the expense of their public support.

Sociologists have given close attention to this subject in recent years. They have found much to complain of in some of the arrivals, and have discovered that the trouble arises largely from the fact that in the United States there are very many agents of foreign birth who make a large

profit by importing families, or securing their importation, from their own countries. It is a common custom for these to exercise an overlordship upon the new arrivals and, at high commissions, to procure them employment. This has led to much hardship on the part of the immigrants, many of whom have been grievously disappointed on arrival in America, where they expected much better conditions than they found. It has also disadvantageously affected the wage-earning capacity of the native born and of foreigners long resident in America.

In the West the immigrant problem has been of a different sort. Originally most of the arrivals went direct to farms, and became large factors in increasing the wealth of the country. As already mentioned, the Western States have been liberal in granting citizenship, and in States like Wisconsin and Minnesota—and to an extent in others—the “foreign vote” has been of great importance. Wisconsin owes much of its prosperity to the labor of the German immigrants, who have cleared its forests and have given much to the higher culture of the State. Minnesota has long been considered a State of Scandinavians, but it has always been strongly American in its tone. The suggestion that the foreigner would lack assimilating power and would prove a dangerous factor has generally come from the North, and, curiously enough, very largely from the members of the Republican party, which has its strength almost exclusively in the North. A little examination of election returns indicates that the Republican party, or the alarmists in it, have little reason to complain of any lack of loyalty to it on the part of the foreign element. In the great contest of 1896 it proved that, in general, the Republican vote was strongest where the foreign vote was largest. Chicago, with its great preponderance of voters of foreign birth or parentage, was strongly for the Republican policies of sound money and protection. This was the case in New York and Boston, but the Southern States, where there was practically no foreign vote, were against such policies. The vote

in Chicago was the more remarkable, because there had taken place the Haymarket riot, which had led many to believe that the city was a nest of anarchy. At that time, Chicago was the home of Governor Altgeld, who was supposed to be the leader of the radicals. He himself was of foreign birth, but Chicago and the State of Illinois were against the policy he represented.

The immigration problem on the Pacific coast was of an entirely different character. There it has been, for two generations, solely a question of the Chinese. In the early days of the gold seekers the Chinese began to reach San Francisco, attracted by the high wages offered. The subject was of little importance until the construction of the Central Pacific was undertaken. The Pacific slope had little labor for the purpose, and then only at wages which seemed unprofitable to the company. Under the existing laws there was no restriction upon the immigration of Chinese, and they came by shiploads under contract. Most of them were from Canton and adjoining territory, and were coolies, that is, contract laborers. Without this addition to the labor of the Pacific slope, progress on the railroad would have been slow. The Chinese proved competent for most of the task, worked hard, and lived frugally. When construction was completed, many of them remained on the Pacific coast, and this immediately affected the price of labor in many directions. They were willing to work for much less wages than the white men could live upon. By this time the gold-prospecting fever had somewhat abated, the prosperous mines were in the hands of corporations or were owned by a few men, and many former miners were out of employment.

Out of this situation arose the propaganda against Chinese immigration, which soon grew in intensity. One Dennis Kearney, of San Francisco, who became known as the "Sand Lot Orator," began a rather picturesque demonstration against the Chinese by holding meetings in the open air. Kearney and his followers attempted violence, and some

were imprisoned, but the constant arrival of shiploads of Chinese made the purpose of the agitation popular; so that in 1878 Congress passed a law excluding most of the Chinese. This was vetoed by President Hayes on the ground that it was in violation of our treaty with China, which permitted free immigration. In 1888, with the consent of the Chinese government, a law was passed which placed many restrictions upon the immigration of the Chinese; and in 1892 what was known as the Geary Law was enacted, which prohibited the entrance into this country of all except a few classes of Chinese,—merchants, officials, and professional men. As the treaty provided that only "laborers" should be excluded, the Chinese government protested strongly against this action on the part of the United States, and intensified its disapproval because of the harsh measures taken to enforce it. All resident Chinese were obliged to take out papers containing their photographs and complete data for identification, while to return to China with the intention of coming back to the United States was hedged about with many difficulties. Those who started originally from China were obliged to take out papers before the consul of their district, and these were issued only under great restrictions. Even when supplied with these passports, it was difficult for the Chinaman to enter the United States. The authorities often assumed that his papers were fraudulent, until they were proved satisfactory. The Chinese government ineffectually complained of what it asserted were repeated outrages and indignities upon its citizens. Although the treaty stipulation for restriction of immigration into the United States expired early in the twentieth century, the statute continued to be enforced. In 1905, Chinese merchants, especially in Shanghai, began a boycott of American goods which at one time threatened to be serious. It was proposed to buy no American goods until either a new treaty was made or the rigors of executing the laws were relaxed. President Roosevelt ordered that the law be executed fairly, but the situation at this writing

is unchanged, with the results of the boycott upon American trade being a matter of grave concern.

Only the ordinary restrictions have been placed on the immigration of the Japanese. In 1890 there were in the United States, exclusive of Alaska and Hawaii, 81,827 Chinese and 25,077 Japanese.

The most interesting fact in connection with the whole subject of immigration is that while in 1900 there were only 2,600,000 immigrants who had arrived during the preceding ten years, in the next five years the arrivals amounted to almost 4,000,000 and the numbers were constantly increasing.

The movements of population have been largely on parallel lines, even omitting immigrants. In early years there was a considerable movement from New England into New York, whence arose the term "York State Yankees." At the time of the Revolution, Connecticut laid claim under its charter grants to the northern half of Pennsylvania and very considerable settlements were made there by its people. When, after a long dispute, involving armed conflict, the claims of Connecticut were abandoned, its citizens were allowed to remain and long exercised great influence in that section of the State. Connecticut also received lands in the northeastern section of Ohio, which became known as the "Western Reserve of Connecticut" and were largely settled by people from that State. The profits from the sales of lands were used in part to pay losses in the Revolution but chiefly for a State school fund.

Southern Ohio was largely settled by people from Virginia, and during the Civil War there was in that section much sympathy manifested for the South, which led to the term "copperhead" as designating Confederate sympathizers. The greater number of settlers in the northern portion of Ohio were from New England and Pennsylvania, and in various portions of the State some of the earliest German settlements were founded. Some of these were religious or communistic, but the great majority of the people had

individually sought the rich and cheap lands for agricultural purposes.

The first settlers in Michigan and Ohio were largely from New York, and the result was manifested in the more or less general adoption of the political methods of organization known in New York. The township of the States in the Middle West is a compromise based on the almost autonomous "town" of New England, the less well organized township of Pennsylvania, and the county government of the South. In the development of the West this form was found best adapted to the prosperity of the section. New York people also largely settled the State of Iowa.

Southern portions of Indiana, Missouri, and Illinois received a very large immigration from Kentucky and other Southern States. The story of the settlements in Kansas and Nebraska before the War need not be recounted here. They grew out of a political contest. After the conflict most of the settlers were those who had been soldiers in the Civil War. The Rocky Mountains region drew its population from all sections and in early years the settlers were almost exclusively engaged in developing its mineral resources.

There is one section of the country which is distinguished from all others in the fact that it has been so largely isolated for a century. The Appalachian Mountains region south of the Potomac was early settled by English and Scotch-Irish immigrants. Kentucky was hardly visited by white men until just before the Revolution. After that conflict was ended there was a rush of population from Pennsylvania, Virginia, and North Carolina into the whole mountain section. This was proportionately the largest movement of population in a given time in the history of the United States. When Kentucky was admitted into the Union in 1792, it already had a considerable population, and Kentuckians were among the men of national renown. Eastern portions of Virginia and North Carolina and the western portions of Kentucky and Tennessee developed

rapidly in population and wealth, but in the mountain section the population has been but little increased by immigration since 1800 and has been largely out of touch with civilization. For a century the people have remained in a state of arrested development, living simple lives, but as a whole satisfied with the rude conditions they found. These people found in the steep mountains and fertile valleys much the same conditions which their ancestors had known in Scotland. They were indifferent agriculturists, but their wants were few. The section was almost entirely self-supporting. The women made clothing from the wool and flax raised on the farm, using looms and spinning wheels which in some cases were centuries old. The implements for tilling the soil or for the chase were made in the local smithies. There exist in 1905 blacksmith shops where entirely by hand labor are made the same sort of rifles as these with which the American patriots beat back the British at King's Mountain or shot down Napoleon's veterans at New Orleans in 1815. In this section there has been less education than in any other in the United States. It has given contributions to history in the shape of family feuds, which are nothing more than a perpetuation of quarrels on the same basis as the wars between the Highland clans in Scotland centuries ago. The manufacture of illicit liquor has caused the government much trouble, but except for these two considerations the section has been little known. It is a curious commentary on American progress that social, mental, and moral conditions were better in the heart of the Rocky Mountains in 1900 than in a section within a few hours' ride of the national capital.

A feature of the last few years has been the emigration from the United States to Canada. The discovery that the prairie lands in the regions of Manitoba and Saskatchewan yielded on an average more than twice the crop of wheat common in the United States, coupled with liberal terms offered by the Canadian government, has led to a large

emigration from the Northwest, the volume of which is growing.

A notable result of the increase of the population and of the transfer to private ownership of many rich public lands adapted to farming is that the population is becoming more stable. In 1900 almost eighty per cent of native Americans were living in the State of their birth.

CHAPTER XVII

McKINLEY'S ADMINISTRATIONS

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY took up the reins of government at a time when the country was still in a state of financial depression, but the situation improved very soon under the stimulus of the guarantee of sound money and the prospect of protective legislation for manufactures.

McKinley chose for his Cabinet John Sherman, of Ohio, secretary of state; Lyman J. Gage, of Illinois, secretary of the treasury; General Russell A. Alger, of Michigan, secretary of war; Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York, secretary of the interior; John D. Long, of Massachusetts, secretary of the navy; James Wilson, of Iowa, secretary of agriculture; James A. Gary, of Maryland, postmaster-general; and Joseph McKenna, of California, attorney-general. Gary soon resigned, and was succeeded by Charles Emory Smith, of Pennsylvania. McKenna was promoted to the Supreme Bench, and was succeeded by John W. Griggs, of New Jersey, who was later followed by Philander C. Knox, of Pennsylvania. Ethan A. Hitchcock, of Missouri, succeeded Bliss in 1899. Two other changes were of still more importance. When Sherman reluctantly accepted the Department of State his physical condition made it impossible for him to conduct all the duties of the office, and the real executive was his assistant, William R. Day, of Ohio, an intimate friend of the president. When Sherman resigned, after a few months' service, Day succeeded him, but was soon

appointed an associate justice of the Supreme Court. John Hay, of Ohio, who had been for a time the American ambassador to Great Britain, succeeded Day as secretary of state.

At the very outset of the administration the annexation of Hawaii was proposed. It was found that the two-thirds vote necessary for ratification of a treaty in the Senate could not be gained for this measure, so annexation was secured by act of Congress, and the islands were erected into a territory in 1900.

In accordance with the Republican platform President McKinley sent commissioners to Europe in the interest of reestablishing bimetallism. For a time it seemed possible that some of the leading nations would be willing to endorse the plan, but when it was found that unanimity could not be secured, the matter was dropped.

The House of Representatives met in December, 1897, and reelected Reed as Speaker. He was not at all times in harmony with the policy of the majority of his party, and, in 1900, he resigned from Congress and removed to New York, where he practised law until his death a few years later.

A new tariff bill was brought in. Nelson Dingley, Jr., of Maine, was chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means which drafted the measure which popularly bears his name. It was a strongly protective measure, in many respects resembling that of 1890, and included reciprocity provisions, few of which have ever become operative, since the Senate has refused in most instances to confirm treaties made under them. This law is still in force (1905).

It was seen early in the administration that the question of Cuba would be a difficult one to handle. There was a majority in each House of Congress favorable to recognizing the belligerency of the Cubans, but the administration was determined to use all possible means to prevent what would have been tantamount to a declaration of war, since Spain persisted that she had the Cuban situation well in

hand and that she would permit no interference. She complained that many filibustering expeditions left American shores with arms and ammunition for the Cubans. This was true, but the president in turn complained that the United States was spending millions in maintaining what amounted almost to a peaceful blockade of her coasts to prevent the sailing of unlawful vessels. It was insisted by the president that if Spain would permit a friendly arbitration the causes of dispute might disappear.

While diplomatic exchanges were taking place, Americans were horrified at the stories of the atrocities committed by General Weyler and his lieutenants. All the inhabitants of the island had been ordered into the cities and villages where they were left to starve or to get along as best they could. This so-called "Reconcentrado" order caused the death of many and the misery of thousands. Had it been executed completely, as ordered, the war would soon have ended for want of victims. General Weyler, however, was in control of only the western end of the island and in some cities in the east where the revolutionists were strongest. The war was not prosecuted with vigor on either side, but its prolongation added to the miseries of all concerned. The American consul-general at Havana, General Fitzhugh Lee, was in a difficult position. The feeling at Havana was generally hostile to the people of the United States, who were suspected of sympathy with the revolutionists. Officially, relations were strained at times, but were generally maintained with reasonable cordiality. Early in 1898 the tension in diplomacy had considerably relaxed, and it was arranged that an exchange of naval courtesies should take place. An American warship was to visit Havana, and one from Spain was to reach New York about the same time.

On January 25th the United States battleship *Maine*, commanded by Captain Charles D. Sigsbee, arrived in Havana harbor, was received with the usual courtesies and was given an anchorage. This was the first time in three

years that an American warship had been in the port, and while official relations were maintained according to the international code, the Spanish residents were not friendly to the American officers. Captain Sigsbee did all he could to give his visit the character which the authorities at Washington and Madrid intended, but his success was only partial, since the daily news received from the United States indicated that the feeling of the American people was growing steadily more favorable to intervention on behalf of the Cubans.

President McKinley and his Cabinet were opposed to precipitate action, and hoped to settle the matter by diplomacy. There have been few presidents in history who have had so much influence with Congress as McKinley, and for a time it seemed as if he would succeed in averting a crisis. The Spanish government offered reforms, promised autonomy to the Cubans, and a control of their affairs which, if actually given a few years previously, would have prevented a revolution.

At the very moment when it seemed as if diplomacy was to triumph came a catastrophe doomed to be the precursor of war. On the night of February 15th, while serenely swinging at her moorings, the *Maine* was blown up and two officers and two hundred and sixty-four men perished. Captain Sigsbee was in his cabin at the time, and reached the deck in time to give the necessary orders to save the survivors. In a few moments the vessel sank, only parts of the stern showing above water.

When the news reached the United States excitement was intense. In reporting the disaster Captain Sigsbee asked the suspension of public judgment until after an investigation. While the American people believed almost unanimously that the vessel had been blown up by Spaniards, the commander's advice was followed, though not without impatience. The Spaniards began an official investigation on the night of the disaster, and reached the conclusion that the *Maine* was destroyed by an explosion from within. The

American investigation was much more thorough, and resulted in a verdict that the explosion had come from the outside. When this verdict, accompanied by all the testimony, reached the president, it was sent to Congress on March 21st. From that moment there never was a doubt but that Spain must abandon Cuba or war would follow. Even in this crisis the president labored strenuously to secure a peaceful settlement of the difficulty, and but for his restraining hand war would have been declared immediately. It was necessary, however, that certain diplomatic exchanges take place, and in addition it was essential that the nation get ready for war. At this time there was an exaggerated idea in the United States of the strength of Spain on land and sea. It was not generally known that the condition at home was far from satisfactory. The United States had few modern rifles for infantrymen, a small supply of smokeless powder, and an insufficient amount of ordnance, while in nearly every other respect means were lacking to equip a volunteer army such as must soon be called into the field, in case of war. It was this fact, so strongly impressed upon the leaders in Congress, which kept the more radical element in leash. On March 9th, Congress unanimously voted an appropriation of fifty million dollars to be used at the discretion of the president for the public defence, but, unfortunately, in such terms as practically prevented the War Department from increasing its stock of clothing, tents, and other material, although the navy was not restricted. For this reason, when the war broke out, the preparations of the navy were much further advanced than those of the army.

When Congress had digested the report on the *Maine* disaster, and considered that military preparations were in a proper state, it passed a series of resolutions on April 20th calling on the Spanish government for satisfaction and inviting it to leave Cuba, and giving the president power to use the entire military force of the government to secure this end. The resolutions were sent to General Stewart L. Woodford, American minister at Madrid, with instructions

to submit them to the Spanish government. That government had already received them through its minister at Washington, and, on April 21st, General Woodford's passports were unceremoniously sent to him. He left Madrid the same day, and this was looked upon as tantamount to a declaration of war on the part of Spain. A resolution, offered by Senator Teller, of Colorado, was passed announcing that the war was entered upon in no spirit of aggrandizement on the part of the United States, that its sole purpose was to establish the independence of the Cubans and hand over the government to them. This self-denying ordinance was later regretted by many who voted for it.

War actually commenced on April 21, 1898, when the fleet off Key West was ordered to blockade the Cuban coast. Congress on April 25th passed a formal declaration that "war has existed since the 21st of April."

It is not within the scope of this narrative to describe the events of the war in Cuba, the Philippines, or elsewhere, but some account must be given of the preparations for the conflict, and some intimation of the impressions made in the United States while the conflict was in progress.

The regular army, which at this time consisted of only about twenty-eight thousand officers and men, was increased to about sixty-two thousand and reorganized on the three-battalion basis, which was adopted in most of the armies of Europe. Congress liberally voted supplies and men, and gave the president authority to call out such volunteers as seemed necessary. It was provided that a large number of major-generals and brigadiers be appointed for the volunteers, while the staff was greatly increased to meet the demands of the situation.

On April 23d the president called for one hundred and twenty-five thousand volunteers, and on May 25th for seventy-five thousand more. In addition, it was ordered that there be organized several regiments of cavalry, not to be accredited to any State, and a number of regiments from the South, to be recruited from among the "immunes," or

those who had suffered from yellow fever. Altogether the levies, including the standing army, amounted to two hundred and seventy-five thousand men. If the call had been for a million, it would have been met almost immediately—probably for several millions, had it been necessary. The unanimity with which the American nation leaped forth to war after thirty-three years of peace was surprising to many. Approval of the war was not absolutely unanimous, but never before in the nation's history had war been so popular, and seldom has it been so popular in any nation. There were many who hoped for peace until the last, but felt convinced that war was inevitable. There was a handful who considered the war vicious and deplored it, but these exceptions were so few as hardly to detract from the practical unanimity of the war sentiment. It was expected that the conflict would be longer and more sanguinary than proved to be the case.

The navy was in excellent condition for the contest. Not only had Congress for some years been liberal toward this branch of the service, but it had been strengthened by purchases at home and abroad of ammunition, ordnance, and vessels, a few of the latter being either warships or vessels that could be speedily converted into fighting ships. There was an abundance of all supplies; so that the navy sailed away, or was prepared to do so, on the day that war was declared. It is a well-known fact that the United States, like Great Britain, has always been more friendly to the navy than to the army. From the days of Paul Jones to Dewey, Sampson, and Schley, every naval officer who has fought great battles has stirred the imagination of the American people. It is true that the navy has not always been supported by the administration or by Congress, but its victories are more vividly impressed on the public mind than are those of the army. This was, for many reasons, the case in the war with Spain. Before the war began, the battleship *Oregon* was ordered from the Pacific coast to join the eastern fleet. The journey was accomplished

in record time, in the face of danger, but without actual peril. This incident of the war was one that impressed the imagination of the American people more than almost any other.

The army was not prepared for war. The navy, as a fighting force, was in existence when the war opened. The army had practically to be created. While the event proved that the regulars could have been massed and thus have accomplished practically all the actual fighting in Cuba or Porto Rico, it was predicted at the beginning that the combat would be long and bloody. The position of the secretary of war was unpleasant. He had not been allowed to spend money for the things most needed at the time war was declared, but he was immediately called upon to care for more than ten times the number of men that there had been in the army a month before. In the next few months there was a great deal of criticism of the War Department, because it could not accomplish miracles. There were neither tents, uniforms, or modern rifles for the volunteers nor staff officers to undertake the arduous work of supplying them.

Following the practice in the Civil War, the president apportioned the troops among the various States, except the extra regiments mentioned. The only machinery in existence to carry out this demand was the organized militia of the various States. Practically from the beginning, there had been on the statute books of the Federal government, as well as on those of the States, a body of laws which called for the organization of all the able-bodied males into the militia, ready to be called into service. In effect, this body of laws was obsolete. There was in every State a body of organized militia which was tolerably equipped and generally fairly well drilled, at least in the school of the company. In only one State was there a compact organization. Pennsylvania had in existence a division of three brigades of infantry, with cavalry and artillery attached, all armed, equipped, and drilled according to standing army regulations,

so far as circumstances allowed. In one or two States there were brigades organized and brigade encampments held, but in most there were never more than regimental encampments for evolutions, and in some only companies or battalions were ever organized for drill.

In no State was service compulsory outside its borders, and all the regiments were on the two battalion basis. None of the States had so many organized militia as were eventually called for, and even though most of these did volunteer, reorganization was necessary, and in forming new battalions and regiments in many of the States, time was required to select proper officers, to equip the regiments, and to get them into some sort of condition for taking the field.

Camps of instruction were established, principally in the South, so as to prepare the soldiers for the campaigns which were expected to follow in the tropics. The largest of these were at Chickamauga, Georgia, and at various points in Florida. To these the regiments were hurried as fast as recruited, many of them without proper equipment, but all anxious for service. The troops along the Atlantic seaboard were generally sent to Florida, those from the interior to Georgia, while a number of regiments from the Far West, including some from the East, were early despatched to the Philippines. Almost all the volunteers were armed with the Springfield rifle, which was little improvement over the weapons in use at the close of the Civil War. Before the war ended in the Philippines modern small-bore rifles were in general use, but by this time the bulk of the volunteers had been disbanded.

The rush to volunteer was not confined to any section. There was as much enthusiasm in the South as in the North, and sectional feeling was well-nigh dispelled before the conflict was over. At the very beginning President McKinley, who had been a soldier in the Federal Army during the Civil War, showed his magnanimity in appointing a number of ex-Confederate soldiers to high positions. The most

notable of these appointments were those of Joseph Wheeler and Fitzhugh Lee, graduates of West Point, who had resigned their Federal commissions to take places in the Confederate army, had served valiantly through four years of civil strife, and now once more donned the blue uniform. Later, both of them became officers of the regular army. There was not a word of protest against this action of the president, nor against his appointment of sons of Confederate veterans to staff positions. A roll call of the officers of the army in 1898 sounded like one of 1860. Once more there were Grants and Lees and Johnsons in the army, and if there was less glory to be gained than in the former conflict it was not the fault of officers, who were ready for any contest.

The higher officers of the regular army were largely veterans of the Civil War. Practically all these were promoted, generally several grades, so that a large number of them received general rank. Later, virtually all attained it. Many of the younger officers were given staff appointments, but many for this service were drawn from civil life, those with some experience being preferred. President McKinley, however, showed great discretion in endeavoring to secure, so far as was consistent with the good of the service, representation of every part of the country and practically of every interest. Bryan, his late political antagonist, became colonel of a Nebraska regiment destined to see little active service.

It early developed that one of the great difficulties in handling the volunteer army was the lack of discipline and the consequent impossibility of enforcing regulations in the important matter of sanitation. At the outbreak of the War the subject of camp sanitation was generally understood. The regulations were strict, and in the standing army they were severely enforced. This proved impossible in the great mass of regiments which rushed to the front. The young men were happy, enthusiastic, and careless. They could with difficulty be made to understand,

even when officers were efficient, that the greatest enemy of the soldier was the disease that lurks in camp. In consequence, in a very short time there was much fever of various sorts, and a number of camp diseases which were in many instances fatal. Had ten thousand died on the field of battle there would have been less outcry in the United States than followed the death of a few hundred in camp, due largely to carelessness on the part of officers or men or both.

The massing of over two hundred thousand troops in the Southern sections of the country was accomplished with great speed, and the outfitting was effected under great difficulties, but more readily than might have reasonably been expected. Most of the troops were given woollen clothing since khaki was not available, and even tent material was lacking. Had it been necessary to throw a large army into Cuba in that first campaign the results of unpreparedness would have been more apparent. It was not the soldier who complained. If he had complained more he might have been more cautious in guarding against disease. The outcry was principally in the homes, and the War Department early came under censure, not always intelligent, which lasted as long as the conflict. It is doubtful if more could have been accomplished under the circumstances, and the complaint, instead of being personal, should really have been directed against that supine state of American feeling which ever believes that peace is eternal, and that preparation for war is a needless expense.

The war spirit of the nation was roused to its highest pitch by the news of Dewey's victory in Manila Bay on May 1st. The first reports came from Spanish sources, and, though some effort was made to conceal the extent of the American success, the fact that the entire Spanish fleet was destroyed showed that Dewey had accomplished the purpose for which he had visited the islands. As the cable had been cut, news had to be sent by steamer to Hong Kong, and this was awaited anxiously. The exact offensive power

of the Spanish vessels was not known, and it was assumed that Dewey's fleet must have suffered heavily. When in a few days the news arrived that not a single life had been lost in the American fleet, and that the vessels were hardly touched, the rejoicing in the United States was general. Such a victory had never been heard of before; and in due time Commodore Dewey was created admiral, to serve in active rank for life.

The easy victory gave the American people a contempt for the Spaniards which was not entirely shared by the government. The Navy Department was aware that there were four armored cruisers of the first class and one of less power, accompanied by torpedo-boat destroyers, en route from Spain to the Caribbean. These vessels, as designed, were equal in offensive power and armored resistance to any second-class battleship, possibly to a first-class battleship, and their speed was theoretically much greater. While the Spanish fleet was crossing the Atlantic, there was much anxiety as to its objective point and a fear that a diversion might be made against one of the cities of the Atlantic coast for the purpose of bombardment. Indeed, the appearance of a suspicious-looking vessel threw New York City almost into a panic, although it was incredible that a bombardment should be attempted.

When the Spanish fleet was finally discovered lying in Santiago harbor, and an army was sent under General Shafter to assist the navy in reducing the city and capturing this fleet, there was another period of suspense until the transports arrived off Cuba in safety. There had been many "phantom fleets" reported, but nothing had occurred to mar the progress of the American vessels. When the reports of a skirmish at Las Guasimas, in which there were a few casualties, reached the United States, the excitement once more became intense. The affair, from a military point of view, was scarcely worth mentioning, less, indeed, than hundreds of Indian skirmishes which had been forgotten. It was, however, the first time in more than fifty years that an American soldier had fallen

on foreign soil, and some of those killed or injured belonged to well-known American families. In this skirmish the First United States Cavalry, commonly known as "Roosevelt's Rough Riders," had their baptism of blood. They were unmounted, and fought under difficulties, but acquitted themselves well. This regiment was the conception of Theodore Roosevelt, assistant secretary of the navy, whose Western experience had given him an idea of the fighting qualities of the horsemen of the plains. He declined the colonelcy of the regiment, on the ground of inexperience, taking rank second to his warm personal friend Dr. Leonard Wood, a surgeon in the army, who had seen some experience in the field in command of troops. After Las Guasimas, Colonel Wood was promoted, and Roosevelt, advanced to a colonelcy, was given command of the regiment. This picturesque aggregation of cowboys and society favorites, drawn from nearly every State in the Union, served through this campaign and was then disbanded. Its full effectiveness was never tested, but its career, as well as its reputation, helped to make a president of the United States.

Although the navy managed to get along until the very last without the slightest diminution of popular approval, the army officers early became targets of sharp criticism. Many of the newspaper correspondents were either ignorant of passing events or prejudiced concerning some officers, for the campaign had scarcely begun in Cuba before the United States was overrun with criticisms of everything, from tactics to strategy and from general officers to privates. Cable communication was slow, and General Shafter was about as poor a letter writer as Grant had been in the Civil War. The fear that the army might retire from its advanced position on San Juan Hill excited great disapprobation in the United States, and not a little disturbed the administration. This fear was not justified; and when on July 3d the Spanish fleet escaped from the harbor and was destroyed off the coast near Santiago, it was felt that the campaign was nearly ended. A short time afterward the Spanish

army surrendered, and the American army took possession of the city.

As soon as the transfer was completed, efforts were made to improve the sanitary condition of the army. Almost all the soldiers were wearing woollen clothing, and as they had been careless about drinking contaminated water, typhoid fever soon broke out. While there was a question at Washington, as well as at Santiago, about the final disposition of the Fifth Corps, which Shafter commanded, it was early agreed that it should be sent somewhere in the United States to recuperate, unless military movements on the part of Spain should develop. While such arrangements were being made, the country was amazed to read in the reports of the Associated Press a "Round Robin" statement, signed by most of the general officers of the Fifth Corps, to the effect that malarial and other fevers were weakening the corps, that yellow fever threatened great ravages, and that the corps ought to be sent home.

While there was no military criticism of the fact that the statement had been prepared for the authorities at Washington, there was amazement that it should have come through unofficial channels. The people of the United States were indignant. It was well known that there had been deaths from fever, and that the climate was very debilitating to every person unacclimated. Newspaper reports were in many cases alarming, especially as they were accompanied by reprints of some of the terrible scourges which had visited armies in Cuba during previous centuries. The Round Robin was published August 4th, after the government had already decided to return the Fifth Corps and put it in camp at Montauk Point, Long Island. The president was indignant over the publication, erroneously supposed to have been authorized by General Shafter, not only because it unnecessarily alarmed the public over the conditions in Cuba, because it was a breach of discipline, which was all the worse, or because it demanded what had already been accomplished, but because at the moment

he was in communication with Spain through the French Ambassador at Washington, M. Jules Cambon, looking to a cessation of hostilities. The president naturally feared that the publication would give to the world at large, and especially to Spain, an idea that the army was on the verge of collapse, and that its effectiveness was destroyed. This might give a new tone to the negotiations. Fortunately, no difficulties developed. There had been sent another army and fleet to Porto Rico, and the island was taken almost without a struggle. Just at the moment when a serious action was ready to open, the American commander received news of the signing of a protocol of peace and the campaign ended.

Although in every contest on land and sea the American forces had been uniformly successful, so little was it believed that the war was near an end that a strong naval expedition was being fitted out to attack the coast of Spain. It became unnecessary. The Spanish government was in a serious predicament. It had no naval force which was of any value. Its army in Cuba might manage to fight for a long time, but it was evident that from a military point of view, Cuba was lost, and as the Philippines were also threatened by the occupation of Manila with a constantly increasing army, there was little prospect that a continuance of military operations would have any other result than further losses.

Before the war began, Spain had unsuccessfully endeavored through diplomatic channels to secure some alliance that might be of use in a military way. The only result was a gathering of the principal diplomatic chiefs representing the leading European nations, who went to the White House in a body and presented a paper to the president in which the hope was expressed that war might be averted. It is now known that the document would have been much more virile, and might have contained veiled threats, but that Great Britain took the firm stand that she would in no case participate in anything which savored of coercion.

At the time there was more or less friction in the diplomatic relations of the United States with some nations of Europe owing largely to tariff laws and commercial restrictions. It was felt that the Emperor of Germany was hostile to America, and would be glad of an opportunity to assist Spain if he should receive the countenance of the rest of Europe. If he entertained such sentiments, the firm stand of Great Britain made it impossible for him to act, and it appears that the American Ambassador at Berlin had no difficulty in maintaining pleasant relations. While there was much sympathy in Germany for the Spanish people, the official acts of the government were all that could be expected.

After the diplomatic letter was presented to the president he replied in terms which were courteous, but which implied that no interference would be permitted. When diplomatic relations were broken off between the United States and Spain, the French Embassy at Washington was left in charge of Spanish interests. M. Cambon approached President McKinley, on July 26th, with suggestions for a negotiation. The president accepted these gladly. Successful as the war had been he had no desire to see it continued any longer than was necessary. Negotiations were hampered somewhat by various considerations, but the firmness of the president resulted in the signing of a protocol on August 11th. This provided that Spain should give up sovereignty of the island of Cuba, should transfer Porto Rico and Guam to the United States, while the disposition of the Philippines should be arranged at a meeting of commissioners in Paris, when a formal treaty of peace would be drawn up. Meanwhile, all war was to cease.

The announcement of peace was as welcome to the public as it was unexpected. Already it was being discovered that there was to be less glory and more hard work than had been foreseen. The soldiers in tropical regions were restive, and there had broken out a number of bitter controversies in the army and in the navy which threatened to

overshadow the news of military events. As there was no cable working to Manila the news of the signing of the protocol did not reach that city until after it had been taken by assault of the American troops after a feeble resistance. There were few casualties on either side. The Spanish government thought that this act of the army ought to be disavowed and the city restored, but this would have been in violation of the invariable custom of war, and was not agreed to by the United States.

At the invitation of the French government, Paris had been agreed upon as the meeting place of the peace commission. The president sent as commissioners Secretary William R. Day, Senators Cushman K. Davis, William P. Frye, George Fray, and Whitelaw Reid. These met the Spanish commissioners on October 1st, but it was not until the middle of December that a treaty was signed. The chief points of difference were the possession of the Philippines and the Cuban debt. Spain was loath to part with the islands of the Pacific, which she had held for so long, and apparently it was not originally the intention of President McKinley to demand the cession of the whole archipelago, but rather a naval station, or possibly a few islands. As the situation developed, it seemed that from a military point of view the United States had a right to claim all the islands, and this was done, though at first some of the American commissioners felt that it was not the best policy.

Spain could do no more than protest against the cession, and, as a salve to her feelings, the United States offered twenty million dollars as compensation for the public works taken over. This was following a precedent set by Bismarck in making a settlement with France after the war with Prussia. Spain was insistent that the treaty should make some provision that the enormous Cuban debt should be assumed either by the island or by the United States, in part if not all. The American commissioners refused to consider this proposal, arguing that the debt was a Spanish one, largely incurred in putting down revolutions against intolerable

authority. In the end, the American commissioners gained every point they demanded, as Spain was in no position to resist.

To follow this matter to the close, it may be said that when the treaty reached America it was received with considerable opposition. It is difficult to estimate what was the proportion of popular sentiment against the acquisition of the Philippines, since it was never an issue to an extent that permitted the counting of polls. In the Senate, however, there was a decided faction which opposed the extension of American boundaries to the verge of Asia, and this opposition was not confined to either party. There were a few very prominent Republicans who felt that not only would it be very bad policy for the United States to assume such responsibilities, but that the nation owed a duty to the Filipinos in the same manner and degree as to the Cubans. There were some Democrats who held the same view, and there were doubtless others who felt it good politics to oppose the administration.

The treaty was discussed for some time and with much plain speaking, even with virulence on the part of several debaters. It was asserted that the United States was justified on humanitarian as well as commercial grounds in securing this easy door of access to China, whose trade interested the United States so much, and with which nation much more intimate relations were expected in future. It was said by others that the country had purchased ten million Filipinos at two dollars a head, and that the country had suffered a great moral relapse since the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment.

The situation became more bitter than any other that had existed in the country since the days of Andrew Johnson's quarrels over Reconstruction. The quarrel was partly as to facts, partly as to principles. There were those in the American Senate who lauded Aguinaldo, the putative leader of the Filipinos, as a second Washington, as another Abraham Lincoln. It was seriously charged that the authorities

representing the United States had made an agreement with Aguinaldo to hand over the Philippine Islands to him as soon as they were wrested from Spain. It has been abundantly proved that such a promise was not made. Even if it had been made, there was absolutely no binding force in an agreement which no officer of the United States was empowered to make.¹

That some Filipino leaders did consider that the United States was pledged to give independence to the islands is undoubtedly, though this is very different from saying that an agreement to this effect was made or was valid if made. After the signing of the protocol, and the intimation that the Philippines were to be annexed, a propaganda was spread against any extension of the continental boundaries of the United States. This movement in politics and morals never commanded great numerical strength, so far as is ascertainable, but it was endorsed by many men of eminence who had in previous years exhibited statesmanship and moral courage of the highest value. This propaganda was pushed with vigor and success for a short time.

In January, 1899, while the treaty was yet before the United States Senate, it seemed doubtful if the necessary two-thirds vote could be secured for its ratification. The situation was a critical one. To refuse ratification of the treaty would leave the situation in chaos. Only an armistice would be in operation, and war might be reopened. In any event, every possible interest would be jeopardized by the failure of the treaty, which its defenders argued was all that was moral and statesmanlike. In counting up the vote in the Senate, the situation was found to be uncertain. There were a few votes which were doubtful, and each side was anxious to secure these. The campaign which followed resembled in some particulars that of Abraham Lincoln in securing the passage through Congress of the proposed Thirteenth Amendment. The result was similar. The votes were secured, and the treaty was confirmed by a majority of two on February 6th. Even this

small majority might not have been secured, had not the Filipinos, under Aguinaldo, on February 4th broken out in an insurrection against the American authorities. While one or two senators defended this action on the floor of the Senate, there were others who felt that sympathy had perhaps gone too far, and that if the Filipinos were ever to have independence, it had better be postponed until they were more acquainted with civilization.

In the fall of 1898 most of the soldiers who had been enlisted returned to their homes, many of them without having seen active service. Many American cities indulged in Peace Jubilees, which were conducted on a large scale, and aroused much popular enthusiasm. The casualties of the war had been few, most of them from disease. Still, the generation which witnessed the return of the troops had never seen any of the panoply of war and was much edified. Congress made provision for reorganizing the regular army on a larger basis, and many volunteers in the Philippines reënlisted in regiments for the special service.

Two controversies of great virulence broke out just as the military events were ending, and echoes of these are still heard. General Miles was the titular head of the army, but he was quite out of harmony with the administration. His advice was generally rejected because he proposed either impossible or undesirable projects. He wanted to go to Cuba with the Fifth Corps, but declined the permission when granted, and organized a movement on Porto Rico which amounted to little more than a parade. This gallant soldier of the Civil and Indian Wars was looked upon as the logical leader in the Spanish War, but failed to achieve the distinction expected of him. His position in the war was defined in an interview with a newspaper man while in Cincinnati, in which he made an attack on the Commissary Department of the army, and in effect declared that the preservative preparations used in the rations were poisonous and detrimental to the health of the army, and that the commissary service was generally poor. At least he gave the idea to

the public that there had been dereliction in furnishing the rations, and that someone ought to suffer for it. He also appeared before an official commission which investigated the conduct of the war. He refused to be sworn, but gave testimony to the effect that the canned beef rations were bad. He also made other reflections on the Commissary Department.

General Miles's statement elicited an extraordinary reply from General Charles P. Egan, commissary-general, who had been in charge of the department throughout the war. The reply was in part a vindication from the records, but some paragraphs were couched in language offensive toward the commanding general. The statement was given to the press without the knowledge of General Egan's superiors, who would have prevented its publication if they had had the opportunity. As a result, General Egan was court martialed and sentenced to suspension from duty until the time arrived for his retirement. This sentence was afterward commuted.

The committee investigating the charges of General Miles reported adversely to him and declared that he had no warrant for making them. This, however, did not end the controversy. It ranged the army and the public in two camps, and it was one of the reasons for the retirement of General Alger from the War Department in 1899. While it was admitted that Alger had administered the department with great energy and success, the public clamor against him was such that in the interest of harmony he retired from office. Soon afterward he published a book in his own defence, which is one of the few interesting volumes resulting from the war.

Dissension in the navy was more intense, if possible, than in the army. This is no place to give all the details of the dispute. It is necessary only to say that Commodore Schley, commanding the Flying Squadron which went to the south coast of Cuba early in the War in search of Cervera's fleet, was accused of dilatory conduct, of not

promptly obeying orders, and of acting improperly at the battle off Santiago. The charges were formulated by friends of acting Admiral Sampson who was in command of the entire fleet. The bitterness over this controversy has not died down, and will probably continue during the lives of the persons involved. Admiral Sampson was not present at the battle off Santiago, though he arrived at its close, and, as decided by experts, was technically present. This was a great blow to him for he had prepared the fleets for action and had laid down the plan of battle. The crisis was precipitated by a bombastic message supposedly signed by Sampson announcing his victory. It was afterward discovered that Sampson did not write this but left the duty to one of his staff. The newspaper accounts told principally of the conduct of Schley in leading the battle and commanding the fleet in action. Schley was modest in his demeanor, and merely claimed that there was "glory enough to go around." It was not long before he discovered that there had been official complaint of his action in several events of the war, and he was much disconcerted. This, however, was never made the subject of any reflection and was ignored until the publication of a volume of the naval history of the war by a clerk in the Navy Department. Then arose a situation that could no longer be officially ignored. Schley asked for an official investigation, which was granted. The report of the official board of inquiry was divided, Admiral Dewey favoring Schley, and other members of the court finding against him. This has had little effect upon public opinion, which is still divided on the subject.

The rewards for naval services, besides the honors paid to Admiral Dewey, were small. The president desired to advance Sampson above Schley, although the latter, who was higher in rank at the opening of the war, claimed that this was an injustice. The Senate refused to confirm the president's recommendations so that both officers lost promotion, though promotion soon came consequent upon a reorganization of the navy.

The Filipino revolt which broke out in February, 1899, extending to every part of the archipelago, proved more serious than was expected. It was a difficult matter for the American army to combat the natives in the jungles, but the work was prosecuted with success against fearful odds until the dissipation of all organized forces and the capture of Aguinaldo put an end to the revolt. The administration of the islands was first given, July 4, 1901, to a commission by the president acting under war powers, but was later given to a new commission created by Congress. It soon became an accepted fact that the islands had become American soil, and political discussion became less virulent and was confined principally to the question of giving independence at some future date to the natives of the islands.

The legal status of the new American possessions was long a matter of doubt. Congress passed several measures dealing with their administration and establishing relations with the United States, particularly in regard to the tariff. These laws gave rise to litigation, which the Supreme Court finally decided. The questions involved were difficult and arose chiefly out of the tariff administration, since at the time of the adoption of the Constitution an extension of territory such as had resulted from the war with Spain was not even contemplated. The vexed legal questions were all settled in favor of the United States government, though in practically every case by a vote of five to four in the Supreme Court, and the majority was not in all cases made up of the same persons. This for a time settled American relations with the various island possessions. Later legislation has somewhat changed the status of the new acquisitions.

The story of American administration in Cuba belongs to this volume only in so far as it affected public opinion in the United States. It was a great disappointment to the American authorities during the war that the Cubans were practically of no military assistance. After the peace, when the American army remained in control, it was discovered that the Cubans were not unanimous in sentiment, were not

all pure-minded patriots, or willing to sacrifice themselves for the public good. The administration of the various provinces of the island was accomplished with great difficulty and much expense on the part of the United States. Havana was made a clean and healthful city for the first time in its history, and yellow fever was practically exterminated.

The Cubans were exceedingly restless under American control. They showed little sense of gratitude to America for giving them liberty, or for feeding them after the war, or for establishing schools and sanitary conditions. These benefits appealed to an intelligent minority, but it was soon seen that the Cuban, like every other Spanish-American, was infected with an itch for political control. When finally the American army left Cuba to its own resources after the expenditure of so many lives and so much money in its behalf, there came a request from Cuba, in effect a demand, that this country grant reciprocal tariff duties, so that the Cubans could make more money than ever before. This proposition was resisted by many leaders in Congress, but was finally carried. The Cubans were only given their autonomy subject to conditions prescribed by the American Congress, in what is commonly called the Platt Amendment: a series of restrictions upon the Congress of Cuba, forbidding the incurring of a debt beyond ability to pay, giving the United States certain rights in Cuban foreign affairs, and in various ways providing for the perpetuity of the Cuban government and the protection of American interests in the island. The Cubans were required to incorporate this body of law in their constitution before the American troops evacuated the island; and this they did, though with bad grace. Subsequently, it was attempted to separate these provisions from the fundamental law. It has been a fortunate circumstance for the United States that the first President of Cuba lived long in the State of New York, and is not only a conservative man, but a friend of the United States. He has held a restraining hand upon many of the radical men of his government.

There was never any doubt that President McKinley would be renominated for president, but the death of Vice-president Hobart in 1899 made it necessary to secure some new man for the second position. The Republican convention was called to meet in Philadelphia on June 19, 1900, by Senator Marcus A. Hanna, chairman of the national committee. The gathering lacked enthusiasm, its procedure had been prearranged. Interest was centred chiefly in the candidacy for second place on the ticket, which proved to be more important than was then realized. There were several persons willing to accept the honor, but no active candidate had any considerable support. The combination of circumstances which resulted in the nomination of Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, then Governor of New York, was a little singular. It was based primarily on his own personal popularity, and in a secondary way on the desire of Senator Platt to be rid of the responsibility of seeing him once more nominated for governor. Colonel Roosevelt's career in politics has been one of somewhat unusual success. Soon after leaving Harvard College, he served a few years in the legislature at Albany, and there made such a reputation for integrity and forcefulness that he was elected chairman of the delegation that New York sent to the Republican convention at Chicago in 1884. He was opposed to the nomination of Blaine, to whom he preferred Senator Edmunds; and, after the convention, he seemed for a time undetermined whether or not to follow George William Curtis and other leading Republicans of independent leanings in the support of Cleveland. He decided, however, to support Blaine. Afterward he lived on a Western ranch, which brought him into contact with what are locally termed "men with the bark on." He entered with zest into the free and active life of the plains, and became known as a man of rare courage, moral and physical, while he had a sort of *camaraderie* which endeared him to all men. He was for a time a member of the National Civil Service Commission, leaving that body to become a police commissioner of New York City, where his popularity

was enhanced by his spirit of absolute justice and his determination to eliminate politics from the force. He was assistant secretary of the navy under McKinley, and already was known as an entertaining and instructive writer on American history, particularly in some of its Western and lesser known phases. His love of military life had been growing, and he found his opportunity in the war with Spain. On his arrival at Montauk Point with his regiment, he was at once mentioned as a candidate for the governorship of New York. This was in line with his ambitions, but he hesitated long over accepting the nomination, lest it should seem that he took it under objectionable conditions. After a free and fair talk with the party leaders he announced that he was a genuine Republican, would be fair in his treatment of party leaders in everything that was strictly and legitimately partisan, but that he would take no orders, and would obey his conscience in all things.

It does not appear that Roosevelt was accepted by Senator Platt and some other party leaders on any other ground than that he seemed a good vote-winner. It was at least charged that they were willing rather to take an unpledged man who could win than one of whom more might be expected in the improbable event of his success. Colonel Roosevelt was nominated and made a whirlwind campaign. He won by a substantial majority, though small enough to indicate that his personal popularity was probably the predominating element.

For many years the position of governor of New York has been far from pleasant to the incumbent, because such vast and contradictory interests are involved in its administration that it is impossible to please all, and a large element is sure to be offended. Governor Roosevelt was independent and fearless, seeking no controversy with party leaders, and showing all consideration which seemed to him fitting. He was not entirely satisfactory to vast corporate interests, and Senator Platt feared that his reëlection could only be accomplished with difficulty. It was for this

reason that Senator Platt was anxious to have Governor Roosevelt nominated for vice-president in 1900, and thereby taken out of the New York situation. Early suggestions to this effect were not received in any quarter in the East with much enthusiasm, not even from Colonel Roosevelt himself, who was ambitious of the presidency and had good reason to look upon his position as governor as a proper stepping-stone to that goal. The vice-presidency had long ceased to be an aid to the presidency, was in fact looked upon almost as a bar to preferment, and for this reason it was not sought by Colonel Roosevelt, who thought that he ought to have another term as governor and who seems to have felt that Senator Platt's fears of the impossibility of reëlection were not entirely disinterested.

Administration leaders at the national convention were not favorable to the candidacy of Roosevelt, Senator Hanna being particularly bitter, not from any personal reason, but because he doubted the policy of the nomination. The situation was in part solved by a sudden enthusiasm which developed in Philadelphia for Colonel Roosevelt, and which had no inspiration from any Eastern source. A delegation from Kansas arrived with banners flying, bands playing, and genuine shouts for Roosevelt. It caught the popular fancy, other delegates were attracted and soon it was found that the real sentiment was for him. Still, so long as the administration leaders were firm the nomination was impossible. At a time when the situation seemed ripe, Senators Platt and Quay and a few other leaders who had much influence made some strategic moves on the chess-board of politics, induced Colonel Roosevelt to accept the nomination for vice-president, and delivered an ultimatum to Chairman Hanna that was with much reluctance accepted by him. The nomination of Roosevelt was unanimous. He was a member of the convention but did not vote. Every other delegate was enthusiastically for him.

When the Democratic Convention met on July 4th, at Kansas City, there was much uncertainty about the position

to be taken by the party on the silver question. The Populist party had already split, though it was known that a large majority of its members would adhere to Bryan. Since the failure of the free silver campaign in 1896, the improvement in agricultural, commercial, and industrial circles had been marked so that there was a strong opposition to the party's going on record once more in favor of free silver. The sentiment of the Committee on Platform was almost evenly divided, and at an early stage of the proceedings would have been adverse to the proposition. Bryan at his home in Lincoln, Nebraska, conferred with leaders by telephone and announced he would accept no nomination that did not specifically reaffirm the platform of 1896 with free silver once more endorsed. Even under this pressure the platform was carried in committee solely by the vote of the delegation from the Territory of Hawaii.

Bryan was nominated, but the conservative element of the convention insisted upon the nomination of Adlai Stevenson, of Illinois, who had been vice-president during Cleveland's second term. This was easily accomplished.

The Free Silver Republican party was in convention at the same time in the same city, and its work was practically an endorsement of what the Democratic party had done. One wing of the Populist party nominated Wharton Barker for president. The Sound Money Democrats put no ticket in the field, but there were several minor parties.

Once more there was a spirited campaign, but the result never seemed doubtful. The free silver sentiment in the Western States was on the decline, and the candidacy of Colonel Roosevelt was highly popular. He stumped that portion of the country very thoroughly, and was received with enthusiasm. President McKinley remained at home, and awaited the result with a confidence that proved well grounded. The president had a larger popular plurality and a larger majority in the electoral college than four years previously.

The campaign once more turned largely on the currency question, but there was an effort to introduce the question

of the Philippines. Many still thought that the annexation of the islands had been a mistake, but it was impossible to make a direct party issue on this subject, because Bryan had personally gone to Washington and advised Democrats to vote for the Paris treaty. Probably the determining factors were the popularity of President McKinley with all classes and in all sections, the success of the administration in the recent war, and the fact that the country had become very prosperous after a long period of depression. Congress had to an extent reformed the currency so as to prevent the use of greenbacks to deplete the treasury of gold, had given more liberal terms to national banks, and had established the gold standard as effectually as was possible with such a large amount of silver still in circulation. As the nation was by law pledged to maintain the parity, it has not since been disturbed. The farmers had been blessed with abundant crops and rising prices, which worked against the former theory of a certain school of economists that there was an inherent law of nature that caused a bushel of wheat and an ounce of silver to rise and fall in price simultaneously.

The House of Representatives elected was largely Republican, and the Senate received an increased Republican membership. The new administration started out in 1901 under the happiest auspices. The old Cabinet was continued, and it seemed as if there were to be a new era of good feeling such as had not existed in politics for eighty years. President McKinley, attended by some members of his Cabinet, visited the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, where on September 5th he made a speech calling for better trade relations with the nations of the world. During a public reception which followed, he was shot by Leon Czolgosz, an anarchist, who had come to the meeting expressly to assassinate him. The pistol shot took effect in the stomach of the president, but for a time the full nature of the wound was not known. He survived several days, and there were hopes of his recovery almost till the day of his sudden death on the 12th. In the meantime, all the members of the

Cabinet and the vice-president had gathered in Buffalo in haste. But such was the feeling of confidence that the president would recover, that Colonel Roosevelt left Buffalo for the Adirondacks and had to be summoned by special messenger when the president's end was found to be near.

The outburst of grief and rage over the assassination of McKinley was not confined to the United States, but included the whole civilized world. The feeling was not only of wrath against a dastardly act, but sorrow that the world had lost a man of such eminent qualities and rare distinction. Americans in Great Britain were astonished that public and private demonstrations there were almost as universal and genuine as if the dead had been a British instead of an American ruler.

The funeral exercises in Buffalo, Washington, and Canton, Ohio, were dignified and simple. The president had been a deeply religious man, and his last words expressed Christian resignation. He had throughout life avoided personal display. He had been a simple-hearted boy, a single-minded man, and devoted to his country and to mankind.

During his administration it was common to speak of him as a man "with his ear to the ground," as indicating that he was influenced solely by motives of policy and not by what he considered right. No greater injustice has ever been done to any man. He had braved public opinion time and time again, and never feared to make his position known. He grew in moral and mental stature after coming to the presidency, as most men must grow upon whom great responsibilities are thrust. It can be said that never before him was there so universally popular a man in the White House. Never was he known to give vent to anger, and but seldom to slight expressions of annoyance. He was cheerful and optimistic always, while no rancor seemed to enter his soul. The largeness of spirit he showed to the South was appreciated. It took courage to appoint former Confederates and sons of Confederates to high positions in the service of the United States, but he lived to see his

position fully justified. He established unusually close relations with the Senate, and was able to accomplish things seemingly impossible. He was always courteous, but he could be firm on occasion. One of his last acts before leaving for Buffalo was to talk to the aged father of a Federal convict. The president seemed to know that the case was hopeless, that the Department of Justice would not consent to the appeal for pardon; but he was so much struck by the aged father's grief, that he gave him the positive assurance that even if the attorney-general reported against the pardon, he would personally grant another interview, in the hope of being able to bring himself to overrule his own minister. This was no display of demagogery. It was not likely to be known; and even if he had granted the father's plea, his action would have been criticised. The promise he made was simply out of the warm affection that seemed to overflow his soul.

In thirty-five years three presidents were laid low by the hands of assassins, yet it has been the glory of the republic that, greatly as all three were mourned, the ship of state suffered no shock. President McKinley's death seemed a great national calamity, but, as in other cases, in time it came to be seen that the greatest loss was the death of a distinguished individual.

CHAPTER XVIII

SOME PUBLIC MEN OF THE PERIOD

LYCURGUS is reported as saying that a state is better protected by its able men than by brick walls. If this was the case two thousand years ago, much more is it now in the republic of the United States. No narrative of the events of any period is of value unless it takes into consideration the chief actors. In this narrative it has been possible to refer to only a few of them, but there are some others who must receive some mention. Almost every man who was a prominent factor in events before the Civil War has passed away. Most of those who came into prominence during and immediately after that struggle, and who gave direction to national progress, are in the grave or in retirement.

When Congress met in December, 1905, there were very few members who had been in service more than ten years. The change was conspicuously marked in the Senate, a body where traditions are closely adhered to, and which is largely controlled by a few of the older members of each political party. Not one of the intellectual giants of a generation before remained. There were many men of ability and a very few of long service, but a very great majority were senators who had not served out their second term.

In the House of Representatives, there were a score of members who had been born since Speaker Cannon first appeared in Washington as a member. A few other veterans

were to be found, but most of them were those who had come into prominence within a decade and after the departure of those great leaders on both sides of the chamber who had not only controlled events but had dominated the imagination of the people.

There are many men of the last forty years who will never be forgotten by the student of history, and others whose fame will endure among the whole people. The most striking figure of all, after the death of Lincoln, is that of General Grant; and the changes of opinion concerning him are rather typical of what takes place in any democracy. Grant rose to be the head of the army by his merits as a soldier, and against the prejudices of many politicians. Even when he was winning victories, he was denounced as a drunkard and a human butcher. He made no defence, used no effort to work his own promotion, and emerged from the War its chief figure on the Federal side. For a time he enjoyed almost universal popularity in the North, particularly during the days when he struggled with Johnson over Reconstruction. When he became the candidate of a party for the presidency, it was natural that he should lose some of his personal popularity; and after he had been in office for a time, he alienated from himself the support of many Republicans, because of his taciturnity and because he had as associates men who deceived him and robbed the country. When he left the presidency there was a decided difference of opinion concerning him, even among Republicans. When on his tour of the world he was received with unusual demonstrations, and when the great and wise men of the earth seemed to consider him a man of extraordinary judgment, the American people were gratified, and Grant's popularity grew. When he was plunged into the campaign for a third term, the political passions of the hour were such that he lost prestige once more, and through no fault of his own.

It was when misfortune overtook him that the nation seemed to get a more complete measure of the man and

to make up its final estimate. When through the rascality of a business partner Grant was ruined, left in debt, and, as he felt, dishonored, the feeling of sympathy for the great commander was almost universal. When, soon afterward, a malignant cancer developed which was certain to end in death, there was no American who did not pity his sorrows and admire his courage under such trying conditions. Congress restored him to the rank of general, an act which was perhaps the most gratifying of his life. Then he began what in some respects was his greatest accomplishment. His *Memoirs*, completed in the last days of his illness, after he could no longer use his voice, are in many respects a notable contribution to American literature. As the simple narrative of a man who accomplished great military deeds his book arouses interest, but its chief characteristic is the mental attitude toward all subjects, the modesty, and the literary style, which in some characteristics has been likened to that of Julius Cæsar.

The profits on this work amounted to a large fortune for his family, and this for a reason characteristic of Grant. He was offered the highest sum that had ever been paid in the United States for any literary work, a sum so large that he took counsel of a publishing friend as to whether it should be accepted. The friend insisted that the offer be agreed to, expressing doubt that the publisher would find it a profitable investment. This very fact led Grant to decline the offer of any particular sum and to agree upon a royalty basis which resulted in profits to the Grant family of many times the sum originally offered and declined.

When General Grant lay dying in 1885, he was visited not only by many personal friends and comrades in arms, but by many of those who had borne conspicuous service in the Confederate army, and the meetings with these latter were marked with much feeling on both sides. Almost the last words written by Grant constituted a plea for peace between the sections. He died in July, and his funeral was one of the greatest military pageants ever known in

the United States. Among his pall bearers were men who had fought long against him, but had been unable to conquer that grim, silent soldier. Since that day the fame of General Grant has grown unceasingly, not only as a soldier, but as a statesman and as the representative of a high type of citizenship. His services in peace and war have never been so greatly appreciated as since his death.

Of those in civil life who were opposed to Grant none rivalled Charles Sumner, either in abilities or influence. The two men were antipodal in all respects, and both had not only great virtues, but the defects of their qualities. Sumner was a scholar, a student, and a propagandist. He believed himself absolutely dominated by the highest motives, and was not prone to give credit for similar motives to many who differed from him. He knew books rather than men, principles rather than events, and though he had many warm friends there were other associates whom he wounded to the quick. When Sumner was struck down in a dastardly manner by Preston Brooks, some looked upon him as a martyr, and Sumner himself seems to have had some such notion. Yet it is not likely that anyone can in this day read without a feeling of sadness his "Philippic against Slavery," which he delivered in the Senate. This was not a sudden outburst of anger in the rough and tumble of debate. It was a carefully prepared speech which he had privately shown his friends, who thought some of it unwise, but could not secure any alteration. In the absence of Senator Butler, of South Carolina, his former warm friend, he made a personal attack on him, which for bitterness and virulence has never been exceeded.

Read in this day, one can but wonder that a man brought up in the best social and moral atmosphere of New England should act as Sumner did. This is no palliation of the act of Brooks in defending his uncle's honor, but it is certain that to account for his many peculiarities Sumner must be looked upon from a different point of view from that of the ordinary person. His belief in himself was so strong that

Grant remarked with grim humor that he knew Sumner was a Unitarian because he could not admit of a Trinity to which he did not belong. Sumner's whole soul was wrapped up in the single desire to get rid of slavery and all its works, and to establish the complete equality of the blacks with the whites. His services to the country were many and distinguished, but it is undeniable that they were fewer than would have been the case had he possessed a little more knowledge of men and affairs. It was this lack which led him into courses of action which a wiser man would have avoided, and which led to his deposition from the chairmanship of the Committee on Foreign Relations, which he had dominated so long. With all his faults and failings, Sumner was a great man, one whose influence for good was large, though his political philosophy has been largely abandoned.

Of Blaine and Conkling, leading political war horses during more than a generation, some mention has already been made. As time passes on so that a better perspective is obtained of the men and the times in which they lived, both men have gained in reputation. The faults of both are largely forgotten, and their many high qualities shine resplendent. It has often been said that if the best qualities of the two had been combined there would have resulted an incomparable statesman. Such estimates are of only academic value. Blaine was a man of engaging personality who had many resemblances to Henry Clay. The comparison made between these two statesmen of different eras is not entirely just to either. Blaine was a man of what has been termed "magnetic quality." He seemed to be the best friend of all who knew him, and the range of his personality extended so far that it was deemed unaccountable by many who considered that he had only a temporary influence. Clay was a man as much beloved and admired in his generation as Blaine was many years later, but the two men differed in many respects. Clay encouraged few personal friendships, while Blaine seemed to bubble over

with a desire to know all men. Both men were what is termed commoners, but there were almost as many points of difference as of resemblance. To men who considered themselves expert politicians, good judges of human nature, the astonishing thing was that Blaine evoked so much enthusiasm among those who had never seen him. It was his misfortune to make a canvass for the presidency in the only year in which apparently he had little chance of success, though he lost by almost the smallest possible margin. When Blaine's two volumes of reminiscences were published, they evidenced a spirit of calm judgment, of charity for political opponents and of generosity that added much to his reputation. His subsequent services in the Cabinet were of a high order, but there were many who thought that his abrupt departure from Harrison's Cabinet and the failure of a nomination at Minneapolis were unfortunate events in a distinguished career. Blaine died lamented, but under circumstances which involved pity as well as regret.

Conkling was fully the equal of Blaine in intellect, his superior in certain characteristics, but he was cast in a different mould. No one would ever think of applying the term commoner to him, although he was devoted to his country and served it to the best of his ability and according to his own lights. Many unnecessary rivalries and controversies which would not have been possible in a calmer age arose between Conkling and Blaine and between their partisans. It would be wrong to say that one surpassed the other in the ardor of his patriotism or in his desire to accomplish in detail the work laid upon him. The ambitions of both were proper, but it so happened that they came into opposition on almost every occasion. It is not necessary to impute to either man the desire to override the other in accomplishing his purposes. The more the careers of the men are studied, the better it is understood that neither was actually dominated by ambition for the presidency so much as by temperament, ability,

and position which seemed to draw them toward a goal for which so many honest men strive.

Conkling was a great lawyer, had many qualities which were lacking in Blaine, but he could not in any sense become a popular idol. Psychologically, he was as remarkable as Blaine, but in an entirely different way, yet the very antagonisms between them involved certain points of contact. Much as they were opposed to each other in so many ways, there was an element of respect which never failed to be recognized on either side of a controversy that was so large that it really became of national importance. When Conkling died in 1888, Blaine was one of his eulogists, and in private life Conkling paid many tributes to Blaine. It was an unusual temperamental situation for the republic that the dominant political party could not admit of the rivalry of two of its most distinguished leaders without eliminating both from the contest for highest honors, or, having admitted one, could not yield him the crown that he had so long sought.

There were many men in public life at a critical stage of politics who had come into prominence before the War, and remained in public life until the bitter rivalries were somewhat assuaged. Hannibal Hamlin was one of those who by sterling worth reached the second highest position, and was discarded simply in the interests of what Lincoln considered the necessities of political strategy. He long survived and was for some years a member of the Senate, where he was respected for his merits, and was of much use in committee, where so much of the Senate work is done. Indeed, there have been few instances in American history where displacement for reasons of large policy have had such serious consequences. It appeared after the elections of 1864 that Hamlin could easily have been chosen along with Lincoln, yet he submitted to the situation with rare good nature. It may be idle to speculate on what might have happened had the nomination been given to Hamlin once more. There are so many various views on the subject

from men who were contemporaries that it resolves into a mere question of academic interest. Hamlin would have made a dignified president, and there is little reason to suppose that he would have varied from the radical programme of Stevens and Sumner. It is also believed by many that the very bitterness of the struggle under Johnson was a legitimate result of the War, and that the civil struggle was of as much value to posterity as the battle in the field. Hamlin was ever a man of force, was one of the few who survived the ancient days of Whig supremacy, and became a leader in the period of Reconstruction.

Mention has been made of Benjamin F. Wade, who was for three terms a senator from Ohio. He was the acting vice-president in the Johnson régime, and would have succeeded to the presidency had the impeachment proceedings carried in the Senate. He was a radical leader, a man of little culture, but there were times when his blunt expressions of sentiment awoke a responsive chord in the Northern heart. He was in some respects like Johnson but their ideals were different. It has been mentioned already that the failure of the impeachment proceedings not only cost Wade the presidency but the nomination for second place with Grant, which he coveted. He belonged to the virile age of politics, was a strong representative of the West at a time when there was a more cordial feeling between the Northern sections divided by the Alleghenies than existed in later days. It may be mentioned that the illogical situation which arose over his possible elevation to the presidency, followed by a more strenuous situation in later days, resulted in the passage of a law by Congress which, under the Constitutional provision permitted a regulation of the succession. It was decided that members of the Cabinet in the order of seniority should come to the chief magistracy in case of the death of both president and vice-president, but singularly enough, this law, which was so long debated, made no provision for the selection of a president in case of the death of the person chosen before he took the oath of office. Such a condition

has never arisen but it remains to-day a fact singular in the laws of the nations that there is a chance in the United States of there being no president or vice-president eligible when the day comes for inauguration.

In an earlier chapter we have spoken of Thaddeus Stevens as an actor in the events after the War. He had come into public life many years before the civil conflict and achieved prominence, in spite of infirmities, because he was a born leader of men. Nothing moved him from his purpose and he was more willing at any time to withdraw than to compromise. There was a time—there were many times—when there was a disposition to resent the leadership which Stevens held in the House of Representatives. There were men of high standing who felt that he was almost brutal in the manner which he displayed toward the House. Yet it can be considered only as a triumph of intellectuality that he ever managed to win over all opposition. Had Lincoln survived it is believed that Stevens might possibly have been induced to accede to an administration view, because the great aim of emancipation had been accomplished. But there was no man except Lincoln who could have exercised influence over him. The story of what Stevens accomplished in the matter of Reconstruction is already told in this volume, and is part of the important history of the United States.

Stevens was not bitter except in partisan politics. He had few warm friendships but he had set his life upon a cast in politics, and he ever risked the hazard of the die. In another age he would have been a leader but in his own he created the situation and controlled events in Congress in a way which has never been equalled. When he died there were those who admired his virtues and had followed his leadership, who felt that his work was done and that had he lived there was nothing in his future that could promise such accomplishments as those of his past.

To continue some relation of the Pennsylvanians, it may be mentioned that Andrew G. Curtin, war governor and

almost the right arm of Lincoln, was one of those who went into opposition when Grant was a candidate for the presidency a second time; hence, he served in Congress with less distinction than would have been the case had he belonged to the dominant political party. Curtin was a man of many abilities and of laudable ambitions.

One of the most forceful of Pennsylvanians, one who has largely passed from public notice, was Samuel J. Randall, long a member of Congress from a Philadelphia district and was honored with the speakership by his party. He was ambitious of the presidency, and in 1884 missed nomination solely by reason of the rule which called for a two-thirds vote in convention. He accomplished the nomination of Cleveland and later became a victim of the prevailing tariff reform doctrine of his party. He was one of the few Democrats who until the last were strong protectionists. He died leaving an estate of a few hundred dollars after having spent most of his life in the public service. No suspicion ever attached to his integrity, and he placed the nation under an obligation during the electoral crisis in the winter of 1877 which has never been fully appreciated, though some mention of it has already been made in this volume. He was one of the strong men of the country who never managed to get that popularity which was enjoyed by many whose achievements were of less importance.

William D. Kelley, also of Philadelphia, was for a generation a member of Congress and was considered the chief apostle of protection. He had served in local capacities before he was called to national experience, and he exercised an influence in commercial and industrial legislation which has seldom been equalled. It was his good fortune to grow in power largely because of the Pennsylvania method of retaining public men in office. Since the House of Representatives has become such a large body the direction of legislation is left largely to committees, and this was where Kelley achieved so much. Traditionally, the men of oldest experience are given the important positions on committees,

and in this respect Pennsylvania long had an influence which was resented by other States which considered that they had sent representatives of equal or even of superior ability.

Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, was for years a conspicuous figure in national life. He had gained distinction as a lawyer in youth, went early to the War, and rose to high rank at the very start. He electrified the North by his *argumentum ad hominem*, in reply to complaints of Confederates, that the slave being claimed as property was contraband of war. This made a sensation because it was a new view of a perplexed situation. Later, by his methods in New Orleans, he achieved notoriety more than enduring fame of the best sort. His later military career was clouded and his activity in the field ended by his ignominious failure to take Fort Fisher. Subsequently, his ascendancy in Republican politics in his own State was much opposed by many of the best men of Massachusetts, but he seemed to have a peculiar fascination over General Grant, who had been so disappointed in his military work. There was a time when he was one of the conspicuous men in the House of Representatives, and his domination of Federal patronage in Massachusetts was one of the controlling reasons that led the Republican delegates from that State in the convention of 1880 to oppose Grant's candidacy. Finally, Butler went into opposition, was Democratic governor of Massachusetts for one term and a picturesque candidate for the presidency in 1884, when he had not the slightest chance of success. He wrote a book of reminiscences which is full of interest to those who study the political history of the country. One of his colleagues, General Nathaniel P. Banks, was a man of finer qualities and of equal calibre who achieved much in politics, but had a rather fleeting fame. He was Speaker of the House of Representatives before the War, and a generation later was a member of that body. He was one of the men who came into prominence on the breaking up of the old Whig and Democratic parties over

the question of slavery. From bobbin boy in a cotton mill to the speakership is a long road, but Banks covered it in a shorter time than almost any other man in American history.

Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, who became vice-president was another man who rose from the most humble circumstances to eminence. It is said that his name was not Wilson, but that he changed it in youth because of his admiration for a patron. From the shoemaker's bench he rose to the second place in the republic, and was an uncompromising foe of slavery. His nature was warm, his mental capacity large and constantly expanding. During a great part of his life he was overshadowed by Sumner, though there were some who looked upon Wilson as the better balanced man.

Other men of Massachusetts who exercised great influence were Henry L. Dawes, George S. Boutwell, and George F. Hoar. These three men differed widely in temperament, but all became active in politics before the Civil War and lived to see the dawning of the twentieth century. Boutwell also was a man who rose from the most humble circumstances to be governor of his State when a young man. Afterward he was called to many positions of responsibility in Congress and in the Cabinet. He had a singularly logical mind, and though he was uncompromising in his attitude toward public questions, he was more genial than some of his contemporaries. He was one of the few men from Massachusetts who labored for the nomination of Grant in 1880. He had been in close intimacy with Grant while secretary of the treasury, where he had done excellent work, not only in refunding national bonds, but in improving the system under which the treasury was conducted. Few men have lived so long in public life, and in the days of the Spanish-American War he was foremost among those who opposed the annexation of the Philippines and headed the so-called anti-Imperialism movement. He wrote two volumes of reminiscences of unusual value.

Dawes was in some respects less conspicuous than Boutwell, but was esteemed one of the most useful men in public life. He long represented Massachusetts in the House of Representatives and in the Senate. Born in 1816, he first became known as a journalist. Entering Congress in 1857, he rapidly achieved prominence, and was chairman of the Committee on Appropriations in 1869 and later of the Committee on Ways and Means. A man of modest demeanor, he was a leading legislator. As an ardent protectionist, he was prominent in many acts dealing with the tariff. He served in the Senate from 1875 to 1893, declining reëlection on account of his advanced years. Nevertheless, he survived for some years, and was prominent in advancing the interests of the Indians; and to him more than to anyone else is due that legislation which looks to placing the aborigines upon their own responsibilities. He was in public life some fifty years, a career almost unexampled for length and achievements. He was one of the men of New England of whom it may be said that, rather than seeking for public service, they have been sought for office, and his retirement was against the wishes of his State.

The present generation probably knows more of Senator Hoar than of any other man from New England in the days since the Civil War. He was a brother of that attorney-general in Grant's first administration whose abrupt retirement has already been mentioned. George F. Hoar is a curious example in politics of those who have been driven into public life. In youth he was in the legislature of Massachusetts, and was offered a Congressional nomination, equal to an election, in 1852, when he was just of the qualified age. He resisted the appeal and did not enter Congress for almost twenty years, when he was nominated and kept in the position until he declined reëlection and was sent unexpectedly to the Senate, where he remained until his death. An uncompromising Republican in his earlier years, and devoted to the cause of emancipation of the negro, he was in his Congressional life a strong partisan.

He was one of the ready debaters of the House and Senate, and was as quick to give as to receive blows in that public forum. He was a member of the Electoral Commission of 1877, and was long chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, where he drafted much important legislation. To him is due the Presidential Succession Bill, the bill for regulating presidential controversies and many others of the first importance. He opposed the war with Spain until it was entered upon. He took a prominent part in the effort to prevent the ratification of the Treaty of Paris in the session of 1898-1899. He maintained his allegiance to the Republican party, though frequently opposing its policies. He died in 1904. He was independent in his views, and far from sectional. He secured the appointment of many Democrats to office during Republican administrations, and was esteemed a man of probity and gained the respect and even the affection of many of his political opponents. His public career was one of the longest in history, and in his declining years he mellowed into one of the finest specimens of the American gentleman in Congress. He also left on record his reminiscences of public life, and is probably the only member of Congress who has done this in a way that is an actual contribution to literature.

In the political struggle which led up to, included, and followed the Civil War, many sons of the West won important places in history. In the early part of the Civil War it seemed uncertain just what course some of the States would take, particularly those which bordered on the slaveholding States. Kentucky and Missouri were kept in the Union partially by efforts of men who were unaffected by the doctrines of Confederate leaders, and in great measure through the traditional influence of Henry Clay and Thomas H. Benton, who died before the struggle began. Each of these States contributed largely to the Confederate army; and in the divisions which arose, practically all the able-bodied men in both States served in one or the other

of the contending armies. Both gave some prominent officers to each side of the conflict, but neither contributed many men of the first rank to civil life, either during or immediately after the conflict. General Francis P. Blair, though born a Kentuckian, was resident in Missouri, and gained distinction in the Union army. He was a defeated candidate for the vice-presidency on the Democratic ticket in 1868. A more distinguished citizen of Missouri, who achieved fame in the War and afterward in civil life, was Carl Schurz, who at this writing survives after a career of singular variety and usefulness. Born in Germany and educated at a leading university, he became involved in political persecution after the Revolution of 1848. He escaped to the United States and settled in Wisconsin, where he became lieutenant-governor. He early joined the Republican party and was a prominent stump speaker, especially among those of his own race. Early in the War he was sent on a diplomatic mission. Returning home he entered the army, became a major-general, and served with distinction to the end of the War. He was a senator from Missouri, later he was in the Cabinet of Hayes, and afterward became prominent as a publicist.

George G. Vest and Francis M. Cockrell were Missouri senators who served with distinction. Both were distinguished for their abilities and were largely respected. Vest retired because of advancing years. Cockrell served thirty years in the Senate, and lost his seat when Missouri was carried by the Republicans in 1904. He was considered one of the most useful senators, and, on quitting office, was made a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission by President Roosevelt.

John G. Carlisle, James B. Beck, and Joseph C. S. Blackburn were the leading statesmen from Kentucky. Carlisle served long in the House, where he was once elected Speaker. He sat for one term in the Senate, and was secretary of the treasury during Cleveland's second administration. He was noted for his entire candor and impartiality.

He espoused the gold standard, and lost his political power in Kentucky. He removed to New York and achieved prominence at the bar, where he now (1906) has a large clientage. Beck was born in Scotland, but lived most of his years in Kentucky. He served in the House and the Senate, and was noted for his knowledge of economics. Blackburn also sat in the House and the Senate, after a career in the Confederate army. He is a "Harry Hotspur" of the Democracy. He lost his seat in 1906.

Illinois, which gave Lincoln to the country, also sent many men to the War, and not a few from that State became conspicuous afterward in civil life. The names of Richard Oglesby, John M. Palmer, John A. Logan, John Wentworth, Shelby M. Cullom, Elihu B. Washburne, Lyman Trumbull, Richard Yates, William M. Springer, William R. Morrison, and Joseph G. Cannon belong in a peculiar sense to the history of the last forty years. Most of them are dead, but their works live after them.

Of these the most distinguished in many respects was General Logan. He had been in Congress as a Democrat before the War as representative from a district which was partially hemmed in by slavery in Kentucky and Missouri, and where the anti-slavery sentiment was perhaps weaker than in any other equally large section of the North. He gave his adherence to the North, and became a distinguished corps commander. It has been said that he had no superior as a volunteer officer in the Civil War, and that his only rival was General Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, who served in many public positions after the War. General Logan was the type of man who especially appealed to the West in his day. Of fine presence, he had a particular facility in stump speaking, was generous, frank, and loyal. He had few disappointments in his career, but missed the vice-presidency at the time Blaine was defeated in 1884. He was one of the founders of the Grand Army of the Republic, and was always prominent in legislation affecting military affairs. He temporarily lost his seat in the Senate in 1877, as already

narrated, but regained it and served until his death in 1886, at the age of sixty. It was said, while serving in the House of Representatives, that he knew the name of every man in his district.

General Palmer also became a corps commander, though he cut short his military career in the field by his own act when he felt an injustice had been done him by Sherman in the Atlanta campaign. He was military governor of Kentucky in the last year of the War, and was highly esteemed for the judicious manner in which he executed laws which were distasteful to so many of the inhabitants. He also left the Republican party after being highly honored by it, and later in life was a Democratic senator from his State. He was the Gold Democrats' candidate for president in 1896. He stumped the country with his ex-Confederate colleague, General Simon B. Buckner, along with a number of ex-officers on both sides of the Civil War. He was of little culture but was of simple manners and great moral courage. He was a dominating force at a time when men of rugged character were needed.

The others mentioned have achieved fame and have also to their credit much that is less generally known. Springer and Morrison were strenuous for revenue reform, but even in the days of the supremacy of their party they never succeeded in securing legislation as radical as they wished. Yates was one of the distinguished War governors, and to him is due the credit of giving Grant his first command after the nation had refused his services. The aid given Grant in his career by Washburne, then a member of the House of Representatives, has already been mentioned. Washburne greatly distinguished himself when he served as minister to France in the days of the Franco-Prussian War. He cared for the Prussian interests in a time of great delicacy and was able to win the respect and admiration of both parties to the conflict.

Joseph G. Cannon has the distinction of the longest service in the House at this writing. He is the Speaker, not

only by a sort of right of primogeniture, but he has achieved distinction on his merits. In some respects he resembles Abraham Lincoln in his homely qualities, his good common sense, and his large experience. During many sessions of Congress he was chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, where he exercised an important influence on the national expenditures. He is perhaps best known for his strong antagonism to the growing power of the Senate, which body has in recent years insisted on an increase of authority and power in a way that has become increasingly distasteful to the House of Representatives. Cannon is a plain man, of few words, but of great influence. No Speaker has had his characteristics, but he is less than none in authority. He has served longer in Congress than any other member of the House (1906). He was first elected in 1874, and has served continuously except during one term, for which he was narrowly defeated because of a careless remark made in the heat of debate, which his opponents exaggerated.

The adjoining State of Indiana also contributed its quota to the national cause. President Benjamin Harrison rose to be its chief citizen and the chief magistrate of the nation. Although the grandson of a former president and the son of a man who had served in Congress, his career was unaffected by any family considerations. His youth was one of poverty and struggle. He made a good record in the Civil War, rose to eminence at the bar, and was esteemed one of the most forceful campaign speakers in a State which was politically so closely divided that for many years it was considered one of the national battle grounds. His temperament was far from warm and he attracted men to him solely by his intellectuality. In many crises of his life he lamented that he was considered cold and unsympathetic. His warmest friends knew that such were not his real characteristics, but he was unable to make through sentimental considerations that personal impression upon his auditors which many of his contemporaries enjoyed in such large measure. In a republic the gift of pleasing the masses is of great importance.

General Harrison, however, was one of many who achieved distinction without any of the arts which could in any possible way be considered demagogic. He left the presidency greatly admired and respected even if less beloved than some of his predecessors. In a subsequent career at the bar and in the higher walks of diplomacy he added greatly to his fame, and when he died it was felt generally that the nation had lost one of its strong men—a feeling by no means confined to any one party in politics. While serving a single term in the Senate he achieved distinction for his sound views. After retiring from the presidency he was urged to return to the Senate, but he declined on the ground of advancing years. He had a large practice as a constitutional lawyer, and was counsel in the Venezuela case before the arbitration court invoked by President Cleveland.

Vice-President Hendricks also had a distinguished career, and was on several occasions urged by many of his friends for the presidency. He secured only second honors, but his mental and moral qualifications were equal to many of those who have reached the highest office in the republic. He was one of the old school, one of those who had acquired fame before the conflict which made so many divisions in politics. He served his State and country in many positions, and always with credit to himself. He died in 1885 at the age of sixty-six while vice-president. His principal career was in the Senate where he was a noted conservative Democrat. He had a large following in Indiana and received practically all the honors which that State could bestow.

Of the same party was Senator Voorhees who was long a notable figure in public life. He was a conservative in the War period, but always resented the accusation that because of some professional services as a lawyer he was in any way allied to the cause of the South. He was one of the readiest debaters ever known in Congress, and though apparently "quick in choler," was always the courteous gentleman in public and private. Although he served long

in public life and with distinction, it is probable that his fame at the bar will outlive that of his senatorial career. He was not only a forensic orator but before a jury was considered to have in his day no superior. He was retained in many criminal cases of importance, nevertheless, he devoted to his public career much of the time which he might profitably have spent in following his profession. He served ten years in the House of Representatives, and was thrice elected to the Senate, and died in office.

Joseph E. McDonald, another Democratic senator from Indiana, was a man of great learning and large experience in public affairs. He was an important figure for many years in his State and in the nation, and was by many esteemed worthy of the highest honors. Although an uncompromising Democrat he had the respect and affection of many of his associates on the Republican side of the Senate. He served in the House of Representatives before the War; was defeated for governor by Morton in 1864, and elected to the Senate from 1875-1881, in which he made an unusual record for a single term. He died in 1891 at the age of seventy-two.

Oliver P. Morton, who served both as governor and senator, was in his day esteemed one of the ablest men in public life. He was strong in his prejudices as well as in his principles, and was genial and well beloved. He had done the nation great service in the War when he sent so many of Indiana's sons to fight for the Federal cause, but his greatest prominence came in the Senate, where he was an important figure for many years. While governor he borrowed money on his own responsibility to send troops to the War. This was because the legislature, being Democratic, refused appropriations. He was elected to the Senate in 1866, and died in office. His untimely death in 1877 at the age of fifty-four was lamented by the nation at large.

In many respects one of the most notable citizens of Indiana was George W. Julian. He was a candidate for the vice-presidency in 1852 on the Free-soil ticket and polled a respectable vote. He was destined to many years

of public life after this. He was in Congress during and after the Civil War, and was one of those most ardent for the impeachment of President Johnson. He was another of those leading Republicans who went into the independent movement in 1872, and thereafter exercised little influence or authority, though he was highly respected.

William H. English, of Indiana, was long a member of Congress and was nominated by the Democratic party for vice-president in 1880. He was a candidate for the presidential nomination and left the convention in disgust because he failed. On his way home he received news of his nomination for second place. He was not a man of ardent temperament, but possessed great intellectual abilities, which, outside of public life, found their chief employment in business, in which he was highly successful.

Of all the men whom Indiana sent to Congress none had such an extended career as William S. Holman, who for more than a generation was one of the prominent men on the Democratic side of the House of Representatives, and, when his party was in power, was one of the leaders of that body. He was conservative in all respects. After having served on the bench in his State, he was elected to Congress in 1856, where by his careful scrutiny of public expenditures he became known as the "Watchdog of the Treasury." Even when in the minority he exercised a wide influence, and his services were generally approved even when there was a demand on all sides for the most lavish appropriations.

Of Vice-president Colfax mention has already been made. He was one of the most popular men in public life until he became involved in the Credit Mobilier scandal. He always claimed that his position had been misrepresented. If he had kept silent he would have been renominated with Grant in 1872. His opponents, as well as some of his friends, thought it a weakness that he made so many statements concerning his connection with the construction of the Union Pacific Railway. His popularity was such that when

at the last moment he determined to try for renomination, he came within measurable distance of success.

Ohio is traditionally the home of statesmen. This narrative has already dealt with some of its most prominent sons who achieved national importance. There are a few who should not be forgotten in an effort to understand the period which this volume covers.

John Sherman served almost fifty years in public life. Most of this time was passed in the House of Representatives or in the Senate, but he was twice a Cabinet officer. As secretary of the treasury in the Hayes administration, the principal work of executing the resumption of specie payments fell upon him. He was a man of logical mind, and, though lacking in the arts of diplomacy and even in geniality, he was so strong in mental characteristics that his hold on his State never was interrupted. He was one of the committee which, before the Civil War, investigated the affairs of "Bleeding Kansas." He was soon afterward a candidate for Speaker of the House when it was not controlled by any one party. The contest was long and strenuous to the extent that a great many members came daily to the House armed with revolvers expecting an outbreak. Sherman owed his defeat to his peculiar cast of mind, a species of integrity which is generally regarded as belonging in an especial manner to New England's sons. He was accused of endorsing for political purposes Hinton Rowan Helper's *The Impending Crisis*. Sherman had looked at only a prospectus of the work and had actually endorsed the book, although he had not read its contents. While he would probably have agreed with most of its statements, he would have objected to many of the violent objurgations of men and measures connected with slavery. During the long contest Sherman could have been elected Speaker at any moment, had he risen in his place and explained his exact attitude toward the subject matter of the book. Probably most men would have done so without the slightest compunction. Sherman refused to do so unless certain opponents withdrew a resolution reflecting

on himself. There was a fine distinction involved in which the ethics were not entirely clear, and it is certain that most men would have acted differently. Sherman refused and went to defeat without a murmur. This attitude was characteristic of his whole career. He was frequently a candidate for the presidential nomination, and was always ambitious of such preferment. It cannot be urged against him that he was unduly active in a matter which is open to all citizens, but he certainly had the misfortune to be estranged from those who in a sense controlled nominations. It was commonly said that in trouble everyone looked to John Sherman, but that in prosperity he was impossible as a candidate.

His long service in the Senate was creditable to himself and of importance to his country. No man better understood its financial system, and his administration of the treasury department was highly successful. Even he failed to appreciate how successful the operation of special resumption would be, and when on the day fixed for accomplishing it more gold was paid into the treasury than was withdrawn, his relief was great. To facilitate resumption the secretary was permitted to issue some new bonds and to refund a large amount of the public debt. In the early part of 1879 it seemed unlikely that this process could be carried out as bankers were cautious. Yet when subscriptions were opened in April the demand was far in excess of the supply, a single subscription for one hundred and ninety million dollars being received which the secretary said "staggered" him, and he wired to the subscriber to know if he was crazy.

In his later years Sherman failed mentally and physically. His promotion to the State Department in 1897 was looked upon less as a reward than as the outgrowth of a desire of the president to have his friend and party manager, Hanna, in the Senate.

At different times Sherman had as colleagues George H. Pendleton and Allen G. Thurman, Democrats of the older type, and men of unquestioned integrity. Pendleton was

noted for his distinguished courtesy, and gained the sobriquet of "Gentleman George." How he missed the presidential nomination in 1868 has been told. In the Senate he was a wise counsellor on most topics, and he more than anyone else is the author of the present civil service law.

Thurman, who was known as "the old Roman," was connected with much of the important legislation of his generation. He was a diligent worker in committee and a strong debater, though lacking in the art of eloquence. For many years he was one of the strongest of his party's leaders, and he aspired to the presidency. He secured only a nomination for the vice-presidency, and was defeated by the people. He was not in sympathy with the radical element in his party in later years, and lost his seat in the Senate some years before his death, which occurred in 1895, at the age of eighty-two. The act by which he will be longest remembered is that which commonly bears his name, and which compelled the Pacific railroads to repay to the government all advances made during construction.

General John A. Bingham, long a member of the House of Representatives from Ohio, was one of the prominent men of that body. He was one of the House managers who brought the impeachment charges against Johnson to the bar of the Senate. He accomplished much legislation, and was considered one of the able men of the House, but his fame passed away more quickly than his eminent services deserved. It has been the fate of most of the committee-working members of Congress in both Houses to fail to receive that public credit which their merits deserve. From 1873 to 1885 Bingham was minister to Japan, where he was able to lay the foundations for the continued happy relations between the two countries.

General Robert C. Schenck was one of the distinguished men of Ohio whose later fame has, curiously enough, been confined largely to his devotion to a mere recreation. In war and in peace he showed many abilities, and when sent as minister to Great Britain he achieved social and diplomatic

success. In good faith, he recommended to many of his friends investment in a mine which was promising. Unfortunately, the investment proved temporarily unremunerative, the price of the stock fell, and General Schenck retired from office under a cloud. Eventually, the correctness of his judgment was proved, as the mine became a great success and those who retained their stock made money. It was considered, however, that in social life the minister had been indiscreet. He lived many years afterward, and was in later days a conspicuous figure in Washington, where he was greatly admired.

One of the ablest men from Ohio in this period was General Jacob D. Cox. He was in the Ohio Senate when the Civil War broke out, and had been for some time a titular brigadier-general of the militia. He had some pre- vision of coming events, and had paid attention to the art of war. He was one of the earliest of the brigadiers in the service, and served through the war with such distinction that General Grant said he had no superior among the volunteer officers. He was chosen Governor of Ohio, and in the Johnson crisis was proposed by General Grant for secretary of war at a time when Stanton retired after Johnson's acquittal. Grant later called Cox into his own Cabinet, but the temperaments of the two men were as antagonistic as their views of life and politics. In later years, General Cox was a member of Congress, a railroad president, and a prominent lawyer. He was one of the men suggested in 1872 as a candidate against Grant, but he maintained his connection with the Republican party.

Samuel S. Cox had a career of unusual diversity. He long represented an Ohio district in Congress, where he shone as a wit, although he had more solid virtues. He gave up, as he supposed, his public career, and moved to New York, where he was immediately sent back to Congress, and remained in service to the end of his life. He was a genial man, with large views on public questions; he often participated in the bitter warfare of partisanship, but was

beloved by his opponents, although his fealty to the Democratic party was unquestioned. He is best remembered as the champion of the Post Office Department, and especially of the employés of that department, whose interests he was enabled to advance. A single speech made by him gave him the sobriquet of "Sunset Cox," which happily fitted the initials of his name.

Few men in commercial life have acquired a more sudden fame than Charles Foster, who rose from "the ribbon counter" to an important position in a way that was distinctively American. Foster was gifted with the art of making friends. He moved through natural stages to the governorship of Ohio, to a place in the Cabinet, and to a position of importance in national politics. His nature was the reverse of dictatorial, and his friends always believed that he could have achieved higher honors except for his modesty and for the fact that there were so many men in Ohio who were considered eligible for political promotion.

New England had strong representatives in both Houses of Congress during the whole period in question. Senator Edmunds was esteemed one of the ablest men in public life. He was a sound lawyer, ardent worker and of unquestioned integrity. He wielded an unusual influence in the Senate chamber and his voluntary withdrawal from public life was universally regretted. Senator Edmunds ranks with the great lawyers of his time, and was recognized as an authority on constitutional and international law.

Senator Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont, had a record in Congress that for continuous service has seldom been equalled. He was the framer of the tariff bill passed at the opening of the Civil War, and throughout his service, which extended over nearly forty years, he was an acknowledged authority on matters connected with finance and trade.

William H. Barnum, of Connecticut, was long in Congress, and was at one time chairman of the national Democratic committee over which he exercised great influence.

Orville H. Platt, of Connecticut, was long a senator and considered one of the wisest men who had ever sat in that body. He seldom engaged in debate, but was a tireless committee worker. He was the author of the legislation known as the Platt Amendment, which established the relations between Cuba and the United States. He framed, during his terms of service, all the legislation covering copyrights and patents. He died while in office, in 1905. General Joseph R. Hawley also served Connecticut in public life for a generation. General Hawley had a creditable career in the Union army, served long in the House, was president of the National Centennial Commission, and was four times a United States senator. He died in 1905, soon after his last term expired. Congress had done him the unusual honor to make him a brigadier-general on the retired list.

Of Western men, Timothy O. Howe, of Wisconsin, was one of the earlier representatives of the Republican party. He served in the Senate and the Cabinet with distinction. In more recent times John C. Spooner of that State reached a prominence rarely obtained by a senator during his first term of service. He is the readiest debater on the Republican side of the Chamber. For nearly fifty years Alexander Mitchell was one of the most prominent Western financiers. He was born in Scotland, and in 1839 settled in Milwaukee and engaged in finance and insurance. To his sagacious counsel and active direction the financial credit of that city is largely owing. He was also the chief promoter of the consolidation of railroad interests that ultimately formed the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad Company. From 1871 to 1875 he served in Congress, as a Democrat. Austin Blair, of Michigan, was one of the war governors whose services in raising troops for the Federal army are deservedly remembered. He served in Congress from 1866 to 1873, and was an influential member of important committees.

Almost all those who are here mentioned have passed away or are in private life. In this reference, omission has

been made, necessarily, of many of high rank and particularly of many who are at this writing in active service. It is customary to speak of the people of a former generation to the disparagement of contemporaries. Such judgments are usually fallacious. When in 1851 Benton was leaving the Senate he remarked to the youthful Sumner that the latter had made a mistake in coming to the Senate, since all the great men were dead and there was little prospect of pleasure in association with the average statesman of the time. Sumner served in Congress with men of abilities as distinguished as those that had preceded his day. It is likely that a generation hence the Fifty-ninth Congress will be looked upon as containing an unusual number of intellectual giants.

The last forty years have brought about important changes in the method of accomplishing legislation. There is very little deliberation over measures in the House of Representatives and the Senate is gradually becoming less a forum of debate. Its enlarged membership is partly responsible for this as well as the fact that most of its members are men of affairs rather than speakers. More and more the work is left to committees. The great issues which aroused so much forensic eloquence have been largely settled, and the ordinary course of legislation furnishes little stimulus for oratory. In these days, about seven men dominate the Senate almost as completely as the committee on rules controls the House of Representatives.

CHAPTER XIX

LITERATURE AND THE FINE ARTS

UP to the middle of the nineteenth century the American people depended on Europe for the main body of its literature. Considering the youth of the nation, the earlier period developed an unusually excellent collection of permanent literature, but it was more conspicuous by its quality than by its quantity. Americans always have read much, but from the earliest times they were, as a whole, devoted to newspapers and light literature rather than to that which was more substantial. The Revolution developed some unusual literary talent, which was influenced largely by the struggle for independence. Benjamin Franklin's fame is the most substantial of all those who wrote before the Revolution. During that conflict John Dickinson was one of the strongest writers.

During the first years of national independence there were few who left lasting literary remains, but early in the nineteenth century a few names became prominent. James Fenimore Cooper, Washington Irving, and Edgar Allan Poe were not only the most important writers of their day in America, but in many respects they have never been surpassed. At the close of the nineteenth century, in summing up the literary results, so far as the English language was concerned, eminent British critics asserted that only two exhibitions of real genius had been shown—Poe and Samuel L. Clemens, better known as "Mark Twain."

In the earlier half of the century George Bancroft, John L. Motley, and William H. Prescott achieved more than national fame by their historical writings. There were other poets, novelists, and historians who wrote in that period but whose fame more properly belongs to the latter half of the century.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, a number of literary magazines were published in the United States, but few have survived. The founding of the *Atlantic Monthly* in Boston in 1857 is one of the notable events in American literary history, since its career has been continuous and its contributors have included practically every American properly entitled to literary distinction. While its circulation has never been so large as that reached by some of the illustrated magazines, it has ever set a high standard and has been edited by some notable literary men.

Of American poets William Cullen Bryant is considered the greatest genius, though he wrote less than some others. His more active career was in journalism. To his newspaper, the *Evening Post*, he gave a finish and literary tone of higher quality than was found in any other daily publication.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow is the most popular of American poets, though critics usually assign him a rank below Bryant. His longer poems are less read than his shorter ones. Many of the latter are favorites wherever English is spoken, and there is no American poet whose works are so largely committed to memory by the rising generation. Much of his important work was in translation and for many years he was a professor of literature at Harvard University. He is the author of the most distinctive of all truly American poems, *The Song of Hiawatha*,—the only successful effort to embody in poetic form the myths of the aborigines.

John Greenleaf Whittier completes what is commonly known as the great triumvirate of American poets. In his day he exercised great influence on the public. He was primarily the poet of freedom, and his most important work

was his denunciation of the sin of slavery. It is for this reason that his fame is apparently diminishing, though he outlived the other two. His poems are still read, but he was more of a contemporaneous poet than a great national singer—at least such would seem to be the verdict as based on the demand for his published works.

Of the poets of lesser rank there have been many, and it is impossible to speak of them in any order that would give any clue to relative position. James Russell Lowell is esteemed by many critics as the greatest of purely literary men this country has produced. As poet, essayist, and diplomatist he seemed to shine equally. He first became known through his humorous *Biglow Papers*, issued at the time of the Mexican War, a unique and permanent contribution to American literature. He always deplored that these youthful effusions were esteemed above his more serious poetry or his other literary work, but such has been the popular though not the critical verdict. Lowell described himself as a “bookman,” and probably no man has had more influence on other American writers than he. His career practically ended with his distinguished services as minister to Great Britain, where he not only served his country in diplomacy, but was one of the chief factors in bringing about that rapprochement between the United States and Great Britain which was so marked at the close of the century in which he lived.

Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes was a physician, and professor of anatomy at Harvard, but he was by instinct a literary man. As an “occasional” poet he has few equals, as a balladist he achieved popularity, but his greater fame rests not so much on these or the novels he wrote as on the delightful essays of the “Autocrat” series, which were original in their scope and have had a popularity far more lasting than most American literature of this sort.

Ralph Waldo Emerson was a poet and a preacher. His poetry, though not large in quantity, is of the highest intrinsic merit. As a lecturer, he exercised a lasting influence

upon the intellectual life of America. He was a philosopher of the New England Transcendental school. His style was noted for simplicity and purity; his thought, for intensity. He was not popular in the sense that other lecturers were; but he was looked on by many as a seer, and his following was intense in its admiration, which in instances amounted almost to worship. His best work was done in an age when great moral questions were stirring the world. His philosophy, apparently, was too ideal for a later and more practical age.

Henry D. Thoreau also has left a deeper impress upon the generation which has succeeded him than seemed possible in his own day. He was a close student of nature, almost a hermit, and a philosopher of the school which evolved the "Brook Farm" experiment, where the galaxy of literary lights overpowered the practical considerations of life which they were expected to embody.

The foremost American novelist, one of the greatest of any country, was Nathaniel Hawthorne. It is the opinion of critics that *The Scarlet Letter* has few equals in any language.

Among the writers who belong to the middle period of the nineteenth century, though most of them survived it, may be mentioned Benson J. Lossing, who worked in many fields, especially in that pertaining to the military history of the Revolution; Nathaniel P. Willis, who as poet and journalist was extremely popular in his own day; and Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was a firebrand in politics as well as a sensation in literature.

The Civil War was productive of much literature, both in the events leading up to it and in those which followed. The list of those who wrote during this period is long and contains many distinguished names, not all of which can be mentioned in this brief survey. The War produced one of the best short stories in the language, *The Man without a Country*. It was written by Dr. Edward Everett Hale, during the War, with the avowed purpose of influencing

wavering sentiment in some sections of the North in favor of the Union, and its effects were remarkable. Its place in literature, however, is fixed without regard to the circumstances which produced it. Dr. Hale has published many other stories and a notable volume of reminiscences. His quiet humor is incomparable. At this writing he is chaplain of the United States Senate.

Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson is another writer whose fame began with the struggle for slavery. He has written many books, mostly of essays and reminiscences, and is unexcelled for the pleasing style of narration and the kindly comment on men and events.

Others who developed at about the period of the War and long survived were J. T. Trowbridge, Charles Carleton Coffin, Lucy Larcom, Abby Morton Diaz, Lucretia Hale, and Julia Ward Howe.

Of those who belong more distinctly to the period of which this volume treats mention must be made without much detail. Among poets, there are many who have left a lasting impression on literature. Unique among these is Walt Whitman. Around no individuality in modern literature has there centred such a storm of contention. His compositions, in form, were absolutely defiant of convention. Whether he was the greatest of poets, a philosopher who tried to write poetry and did not know how, or a charlatan, are questions which are more fiercely debated as years pass. The Whitman cult has developed to an extent which amazes those who scout his work, but it includes many eminent names in the literary world on both sides of the Atlantic.

George H. Boker, in his day, was highly esteemed as a poet, though he was not a professional literary man. He is not much read by the general public. Bayard Taylor is by many critics considered one of the first of American poets. Some of his work has received the highest encomiums, and there are a few which remain popular. Taylor was primarily a journalist. In his busy life he travelled far and

wide, wrote much that appealed to the imagination of the American people, and had made large plans for more serious work, all of which were not executed. He closed his life as minister to Germany. Like Whittier, he was of Quaker ancestry, but the two men were intellectually cast in different moulds. Taylor wrote novels which depicted Quaker life in an intimate manner.

Among the poets still read are Thomas Bailey Aldrich, whose greater fame was in fiction, Richard Henry Dana, Helen Hunt Jackson, Richard Henry Stoddard, Edmund Clarence Stedman, and Joaquin Miller, "the Poet of the Sierras." Of those whose fame has developed most recently Edwin Markham has attained the highest rank. He is one of the few poets who at the close of the century could make a profession of this form of literature and succeed in it.

Besides these poets, whose work was in the serious vein, there is a group of Americans especially distinguished for ballads and humorous verse. The father of this school was John G. Saxe, who wrote through three generations and acquired only temporary popularity. The later generation was in many respects more successful. John Hay did not care to have his literary reputation based on his *Pike County Ballads*, yet they are among the most popular verse in the country. *Jim Bludso of the Prairie Bell* was written when Hay was a youth, yet it is known to almost every intelligent person in the United States, even to those who have never read a page of his more serious works. Hay's chief distinction is as a diplomatist, but he was one of the greatest of American literary men who survived the nineteenth century. It is a curious commentary on the state of moral sentiment in the country that when the ballad mentioned was first published it was savagely attacked as being irreligious and vicious in its tendencies.

In a somewhat similar vein, though in another field, Bret Harte wrote ballads which combined humor with pathos. Harte was a distinctive production of the Pacific coast, its most eminent literary man, and one who filled for

many years a unique position in literature. He wrote many volumes of short stories, and practically all of them were located in California and treated of almost the same themes. Yet he never failed of a large and appreciative patronage.

Eugene Field was primarily the poet laureate of the nursery. He wrote many humorous verses, some in the style of Harte, but his lasting contributions to literature are those which deal with child life. Few poets have been able to express sentiment so simply and yet with so much power.

The two dialect poets of the Western farm are Will Carleton and James Whitcomb Riley. Though his literary qualities have not received the highest praise, no balladist in America has achieved such popularity as Carleton. His topics are homely and are written in the exact vein which the multitude can appreciate. It is stated that more volumes of his ballads have been sold than of the works of any other American poet. In all his work, Riley exhibits higher poetic qualities. He was one of the first of a remarkable group of Indiana men of letters to achieve fame. His contributions have not been numerous, but are esteemed for their remarkably even quality.

Prior to the Centennial Exhibition almost all published contributions to American history had been written by men of New England. The result was not entirely fortunate as giving the proper perspective of events, but, curiously enough, though there was much complaint that historians had shown a bias toward New England, little effort had been made to counteract alleged imperfections by the writing of history in other sections. New England had always prided herself upon her conduct in the Revolutionary War in a way that had given offence to other sections which claimed to have done more and certainly to have suffered much more. After the impulse given by the Centennial Exposition, history was written from various points of view by men of other sections, with the wholesome result of

arousing controversies out of which the truth was threshed. Among those who have written of American history in recent years mention may be made of Henry Adams, whose most painstaking history of the first two decades of the nineteenth century is perhaps more highly esteemed in Great Britain than in America; John Fiske, the most charming, illuminating, and, in many respects, most discriminating of American historians; James Schouler, whose work covers almost a century of the constitutional period; J. F. Rhodes, author of a history of America from the Compromise of 1850 to the first administration of Cleveland; James B. McMaster, who has written a history of the American people; Francis Newton Thorpe, whose principal work is *The Constitutional History of the United States*; John Bigelow, whose life almost spanned the whole of the nineteenth century; Woodrow Wilson, author of many historical works, including one which covers the whole period of American history. These are a few of those who have given invaluable contributions to history.

In critical biography, in pleasing reminiscence, and in autobiography, the last forty years have been unusually rich. Most of the eminent civil and military leaders during the Civil War have left more or less extended accounts of their services. Probably no conflict of great importance has been so fully described as that of 1861-1865 by the chief actors as well as by observers. The Comte de Paris wrote a voluminous and nearly complete history of this war, and several Britons have written exhaustively on some phases of it. The future historian will have no lack of material in writing a critical and philosophic account of that great struggle.

Before speaking of the later school of literature, mention must be made of a phase of intellectual life which had great vogue and much influence forty years ago, but which has almost entirely passed away. The lecturers of 1850-1880 were in many respects leaders of thought; and while they owed much of their popularity to the fact that they were active

at a time when many moral problems were before the public, it is also possible that the rise of the newspaper has done much to eliminate them from prominence. Forty years ago, newspapers were more costly than now, smaller in size, possessed of fewer facilities, and had comparatively small circulation. In an age when for a cent the thought of the leading men of the country can be secured, the desire to pay for hearing a lecturer has waned.

There are many who lament the decline in popularity of the platform, no matter what its causes. In the early part of the nineteenth century, finished oratory was more highly esteemed than at present. Many of the men who became prominent in public life owed their rise chiefly to their forensic abilities. Daniel Webster, Rufus Choate, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and Edward Everett are the most famous names in American eloquence, though there were others who nearly rivalled them. It was after the day of these men that the lecture platform became so prominent, and largely through the influence of New England people who had settled in various parts of the North. The intellectual life was esteemed in the South as well as in the North, but in the latter section it had more varied forms of cultivation and expression. The anti-slavery movement and transcendentalism brought out a host of speakers, who were heard from one end of the country to the other, though largely in the North. Among those who were prominent may be mentioned William Lloyd Garrison, the chief apostle of the radical anti-slavery propaganda. It is not true that to Garrison alone is due the unshackling of the slaves, nor even exclusively can that result be credited to the impulse which he gave to the movement. There were many earnest anti-slavery men in America before Garrison was born, and at no time during Garrison's life was there wanting a conservative element which opposed his radical language. Garrison and his own coterie denounced the Constitution of the United States as a league with the devil, a compact with hell, and used other violent expressions in their diatribes. The conservative

movement, led by James G. Birney, a Southerner and an ex-slaveholder, was always in the majority, though it never made so much stir, because of its more peaceful methods. Yet Garrison was always a forceful figure on the platform, and his diatribes against slavery and slaveholders made a deep impression on the public mind in various ways.

The most eloquent of anti-slavery advocates was Wendell Phillips, who sacrificed a professional career to espouse the cause so dear to his heart. He, like Garrison, was almost an anarchist in his opposition to the Constitution because it endorsed slavery. His burning eloquence against slavery was turned to other channels after emancipation; and so long as he lived he never failed to command a large audience to hang upon his polished sentences, although in later years his tendency to use manuscript in speaking caused some disappointment.

There were other propagandists who considered slavery as either of less account or as having been sufficiently treated by others. Henry Ward Beecher was a foe of slavery, but his platform fame was greatest after the Civil War. He was the most eminent of American pulpit orators, and on the platform he was no less successful. He spoke on many topics, and to the very end of his career commanded large audiences. He was not only preacher, lecturer, and author, but he exercised a power over the imagination of the American people that has seldom been equalled. It is true that his influence was in some degree handicapped by litigation involving his personal character, but he lived to survive most of the prejudice which that event brought forth. His great work was in accomplishing in an unusual degree the intellectual freedom of the American people. He was no Calvinist, no hide-bound theologian, but a thinker who had unusual capacity for impressing his views upon the public. He came into prominence about the time that Darwin was publishing his views on the origin of species, and when the higher criticism of the Bible was being discussed in America. Both these innovations were considered by the bulk of the

clergy and the people as utterly destructive of Christian dogma, and Beecher was looked upon as heterodox because, though in a moderate degree, he seemed to adhere to the new doctrines. As an intellectual force, few have surpassed Beecher, though his last days were not entirely those of pleasantness and peace.

Horace Greeley was another platform lecturer in great demand. He talked on a variety of topics, from socialism, diet, and farming to current politics. No man in the United States ever had a firmer personal hold on a greater number of intellectual persons than Greeley, in spite of his peculiarities; and his friends lamented that his last appearance on any stage was as a candidate for the presidency with the endorsement of the party he had fought throughout his whole life. The *New York Weekly Tribune* was not exactly literature in the highest sense, but it exercised an influence that no other publication in America has ever approached.

Among the lecturers whose efforts were confined principally to ethical or literary themes, George Ripley and Edwin S. Whipple were prominent; George William Curtis was also a literary man, an author, editor, and a publicist in various ways, but he was best esteemed as a lecturer on themes of vital moment. His style was polished and his delivery was excellent. His ideals were lofty, yet he was no theorist. It was the lament of many that he went into opposition in 1884, after having been so long a bulwark of the Republican party, yet he lost no real prestige by his action. He was an orator and a philosopher as well as an editor and an essayist, but perhaps his most popular claim was those delightful essays which he published monthly in *Harper's Magazine* which seemed to make his "easy-chair" almost an intellectual and moral throne.

A group of women lecturers who exercised much influence as advocates of female suffrage and other social reforms was composed of Anna E. Dickinson, Mary A. Livermore, Susan B. Anthony, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. This

quartet may be said to have made almost an innovation by appearing on the platform. Before their day it was considered, in public as well as in religious life, that the Pauline admonition that women should keep silence was binding on the existing generation. These women were largely instrumental in securing for their sex legislation which has placed it in many respects in a position superior to that of males. When the propaganda was established looking to woman's suffrage it was generally hooted at, and these women had much to contend with before they could receive a respectful hearing. In the end they accomplished much, though not all that they hoped. They secured in most parts of the United States statutes which give a married woman complete control of her property without releasing the husband from the dower rights of the wife in his estate. They secured many rights and privileges for their sex, including, in Eastern States, the electoral franchise on certain questions, and in four States in the West complete civic equality.

Among those who were able temporarily to affect public audiences this country has had no superior to John B. Gough, who, for two generations was in many respects without a peer, whether he spoke on his favorite theme of total abstinence or on other topics. He was not a man of profound culture, but he possessed an unusual power to carry an audience with him in every mood by which he himself was swayed, and since his death no lecturer has enjoyed so great a popularity.

While the religious sentiment of the country was in a process of evolution, Robert G. Ingersoll never failed to command great attention by his lectures against orthodoxy and largely against the whole tenets of Judaism and Christianity. The audacity of the man, his eloquence, and his facility in phrase making gained him a reputation that vanished rapidly when a different, but not utterly discordant, view of the subjects he discussed was announced by many leading clergymen. Ingersoll was not a student, but used a peculiar period to achieve notoriety on a basis that was

neither scholarly nor scientific, but which had just enough truth in it to appeal to a large class of persons.

In a different ethical and religious direction T. De Witt Talmage and Lyman Abbott have achieved more lasting fame. The most highly paid lecturer in America was Henry M. Stanley, the explorer, who, though British born, accomplished most of his work while an American citizen. Of the more recent American lecturers the most popular are Henry Watterson and Elbert Hubbard, the latter an apostle of a new socialistic movement.

American humorists have been popular wherever the English language is spoken. Those familiarly known as Artemus Ward, Petroleum V. Nasby, and Mrs. Partington (all pseudonyms) have won an unusual popularity, some of which is lasting. In more recent times Edgar Wilson Nye, familiarly known as "Bill Nye," had an extraordinary vogue. All the humorists mentioned were somewhat lacking in refinement, but they had an originality of form and expression which was highly popular.

The humorist of America, as well as of the nineteenth century, is undoubtedly Clemens. "Mark Twain" early acquired a popularity based largely upon his extravagance of expression and the unexpected turn of his sentences. In his earlier work there was much of crudity, but it was what was popularly termed "fetching." It had immense vogue. At the close of the century he was scarcely to be considered a humorist. He had turned satirist, critic, and philosopher. No American author has ever commanded such material rewards for his writings, and it has already been observed that foreign critics look upon him as one of the two geniuses of the literary world in the nineteenth century. He has covered an extraordinarily wide range of literature and has never lost popularity, even when he has been an iconoclast.

Of living writers of fiction, William Dean Howells is oldest in years, longest in service, nearly if not quite the most prolific, and the foremost in rank. It was he who first

introduced business life into high-class fiction. *The Rise of Silas Lapham* and *The Quality of Mercy* are esteemed most important works of American fiction, because they portray the strenuous life of modern times. Howells is a rare analyst of character, and his stories depend more upon acute delineation of character than in dramatic movements in the plot. He is also an essayist and a critical commentator on life, particularly of its social aspects. Howells succeeded to the chair held by Curtis in the editorial management of *Harper's Magazine*.

It has been customary to couple the name of Henry James with that of Howells, with no good reason. There is little in common in the two writers. James has lived most of his mature years in Europe, and his works have never attained popularity in America. His following is small, but loyal.

The voluminous and popular author F. Marion Crawford, has spent most of his life in Italy, the scene of most of his stories. Crawford always has a story to tell and has an unusually pleasing style of narration. Aside from fiction, he has written histories of Rome and of Venice.

Twenty years ago the works of Miss Murfree, under the pseudonym of "George Egbert Craddock," were almost unrivalled in their popularity and are still read, though the author has written little in recent years. These stories revealed for the first time to the American people the life and heart of the residents in the Appalachian Mountains in Tennessee. In delineation of the simple yet rugged characters of the mountaineers, in descriptions of the scenery of the section, Miss Murfree achieved high rank as an artist. She resembles Bret Harte to the extent that she has worked practically one vein; she has one scene and one theme, yet her readers never grow weary of her.

John Fox, Jr., has done somewhat the same service for the mountaineers of Kentucky. He has portrayed more of the lawless than the picturesque side, and his effort has been to delineate the peculiar characteristics of these

descendants of the Scotch clans. He has written many novels, but *The Little Shepherd of Kingdom Come* is considered by critics his best work and one which is likely to live.

Thirty years ago there was no more popular author than Dr. J. G. Holland. His earlier writings he devoted to delineations of New England colonial life and character. In his later period he was an exponent of contemporaneous life in New York city. He always wrote with a definite ethical purpose. His writings were many, but are less read by the present generation than might be supposed, considering their former popularity. General Lew Wallace wrote several novels, but *Ben Hur* alone achieved great favor.

New England has contributed a number of women writers of high rank who have dealt with life in that part of America. Celia Thaxter, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Sarah P. McLain Greene, Margaret Deland, and Mary Wilkins have all made important contributions to American literature which seem destined to more than the usual passing life of modern literature.

Indeed, in the last twenty years there have been so many writers of fiction in America, the output has been so large, and the craving of the public so intense for something new, that it is a rare test for a work of fiction to survive more than a brief time. The sale of novels has increased very rapidly in recent years and new authors are constantly making a bid for public favor. A perfect furore existed for several years over the historical novel. Miss Mary Johnson achieved extraordinary success by her delineations of colonial life in Virginia. Winston Churchill occupied the same field, though his later works dealt with more modern events. Robert Chambers wrote especially of life in the rural districts of New York during the Revolution. Robert Neilson Stevens wrote of colonial life as well as of earlier days in England. There is scarcely a period in the history of America which was not made the basis of a piece of fiction, scarcely a well-known spot that was not used in the scenario, and scarcely a leading figure who was

not introduced. It was easily appreciated that these were of varying literary merit, but the critics complained that as a rule these alleged historical novels were neither fiction nor history. It is undoubted that these works did to a large extent inspire a love of study of American history, but they also had the effect of distorting a great deal of it in the minds of those who never cared to disturb the impressions they received.

Early in the twentieth century there came a reaction against this sort of fiction in favor of the romantic and in the study of social problems. Booth Tarkington has done some excellent work in depicting political life in the Middle West. Morgan Robertson is the best of the writers of sea stories. Jack London is probably the most forceful and dramatic of existing writers; his best work deals with early scenes in Alaska during the rush to the gold fields, though he has not confined himself to that region. Stewart Edward White has written powerful stories of life in the woods and mountains. George Ade is the exponent of a new sort of humor. It would be impossible to enumerate those who have acquired what appears to be more than an evanescent fame in recent years. It is considered by many critics that the strongest of the more recent writers is Edith Wharton, whose studies of social life are intimate and powerful. Others still enjoying popularity after years of production are Dr. S. Weir Mitchell and Robert Grant, both careful analysts of modern social conditions, and possessed of a pleasing style.

At the present time there are published in the United States some seven or eight thousand separate books each year, of which about two thousand are fiction. The circulation of these varies very greatly. Twenty years ago a book was considered to have a large success if ten thousand copies were sold. Phenomenal circulations, as in the case of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Ben Hur*, were readily explained. When, however, at the close of the century a piece of fiction not notable from a literary standpoint and lacking

in constructive qualities reached an unprecedented circulation, a sensation was created in publishing circles. *David Harum* was a posthumous work and owed most of its popularity to its quaint characterization of a country banker. That it should sell to the extent of seven hundred and fifty thousand volumes was unaccountable, but it stirred up many new writers to emulation and incited publishers in an effort to secure a repetition of such success by publishing many works that would otherwise have been declined. Some did become very popular, but many were financial failures, and these things occurred, as it seemed to critics, without the slightest regard to the inherent merit of the works.

The popularity of the modern novel is due in large measure to the increase of wealth in recent years, to the increase in general education and to other causes, including generous advertising. Forty years ago few American novels were published and those generally had a moderate sale. At that time the family story paper was in great favor among those who could not afford or could not appreciate the current novel. These story papers were of every grade from those with some literary pretensions to those which were most sensational. For thirty years they were popular and then they suddenly disappeared before the rising circulation of the Sunday newspaper. It is probable that these family story newspapers did much to educate the succeeding generation into a love of fiction, and this resulted in a desire to get novels.

A great influence upon literature has been exercised by the rise of the public libraries. Fifteen years ago most libraries were private or semi-private institutions. In New England, and, to an extent elsewhere, libraries were supported entirely by public taxation. Andrew Carnegie has in fifteen years munificently assisted libraries. Sometimes he has given buildings and endowment outright, but usually he has followed the plan of paying the cost of erecting a building on condition of a site being furnished and a guarantee of maintenance. In this way he has erected about one

thousand five hundred buildings at a total cost estimated at forty-two million dollars, and practically no village, town, or city has been refused assistance. There are now some seven thousand four hundred libraries in the United States, containing about fifty million books, and the number of patrons is rapidly increasing. In a few States travelling libraries for country districts have been established with great success, and the supporters of this movement consider that in the near future standard books will be brought within the reach of nearly every inhabitant of the country.

The United States is particularly noted for the number and circulation of periodicals of every kind. There are about twenty-one thousand of all sorts, of which over two thousand are published daily, and fifteen thousand weekly, the rest appearing at various intervals. The totals for the United States exceed forty per cent of those for the entire world. In average circulation also American publications exceed those of other countries. There is no nation whose inhabitants are supplied per capita with an equal amount of reading matter.

Development in the fine arts in America belongs chiefly to the last thirty years. West, Trumbull, Stuart, Sully, Peale, and a few others were notable late in the eighteenth and in the early part of the nineteenth centuries. Then for some decades there seemed to be little development in art. Enthusiasts there were, like Henry D. Gilpin, of Philadelphia, who actively promoted art and was an ardent collector and propagandist of American art. During the last quarter of the century, George Inness, F. S. Church, and others achieved a lasting reputation in painting. W. W. Story was the first great American sculptor. There are a few art academies in the country, but persons with serious intentions are generally obliged to study abroad. Many of them never return. James A. McNeill Whistler was an American whose fame is world wide. He lived in Europe during most of his working years. He had the unexpected notoriety of being savagely attacked by John Ruskin at the height of the latter's fame as a critic. Yet Whistler

was one of the most famous artists of the world at the time of his death. Prices recently paid for his works indicate that he is ranked by connoisseurs with Reynolds and Gainsborough.

At the time of the Centennial Exposition many American pictures were shown, but few were of high merit. Although it was impossible to secure from Europe her greatest art treasures, the pictures which she lent gave the uninitiated visitor an idea of the great gulf that seemed fixed between the artistic accomplishments of the American and of the European. This was not in the least remarkable, seeing that the American people had been passing through the formative stage, which is not favorable to the development of art. In the last thirty years the number of American artists who have achieved a high reputation is, under the circumstances, remarkable.

The schools and museums of art in the United States are many and varied. The Philadelphia Academy of the Fine Arts, established in 1805, is the oldest. In it have been educated many of the most prominent artists of America. Its permanent collection is one of the best in the New World. In Philadelphia are several other schools, including those of the mechanic and applied arts. The city owns a fine collection of paintings, bequeathed by a noted collector.

The National Academy of Design and the Art Students League are the two leading institutions of the kind in New York. The Metropolitan Museum of Art in Central Park contains the finest collection of paintings, sculpture, and other art objects in the New World. In the early years of the twentieth century it received donations amounting to about twelve million dollars.

Boston has good art schools and collections. Baltimore has a noteworthy gallery of paintings. Cincinnati was the pioneer in art development in the West, but its supremacy has been superseded by Chicago, where there is a notable art school and fine galleries and museums of art, contributed

by the wealthy men of that city. In nearly every large city there are art schools and at least the beginning of public galleries.

There is probably no living portrait painter whom critics consider the equal of John S. Sargent, whose services are sought in England as eagerly as in America. The rank of Edwin A. Abbey is established by his many admirable compositions, in which his mastery of drawing and use of color are incomparable. King Edward VII. selected Abbey to paint the scene of his coronation. William M. Chase is called by critics "the best all around painter in America, if not in the world," meaning by the term that his genius is not limited in any particular direction. He is a master in all the arts of painting, and his fame is international.

These are the best known of living American artists, but there are others who are to be spoken of in general without any invidious distinctions. William T. Richards is essentially a marine painter, and is astonishingly prolific considering the high degree of efficiency he has always maintained. Thomas Alexander Harrison also is a distinguished marine painter, but is elective in his studies. F. A. Bridgman has achieved great fame as a painter of scenes of Oriental color and luxury. Kenyon Cox is known not only as a great artist, but as one of the most important of teachers and critics. Winslow Homer's work occupies a rank hardly excelled for artistic conception and technique. John LaFarge is in many respects the dean of American artists, because of the universality of his genius. There is no living artist who can compare with him in the range of his knowledge or accomplishments, whether as painter, decorator, or critic. He has raised the art of stained glass to a plane not equalled anywhere else in the world. Cecilia Beaux ranks scarcely below Sargent in portraiture.

To undertake any further enumeration of artists who have achieved fame would be beyond the limits of the occasion. It is more pertinent to speak of some for the general direction they have given to American art in its various

phases. Thirty years ago there were many art collectors in America who spent large fortunes in Europe. It has been said, on what appears substantial authority, that the race between American collectors from 1865 to 1885 for the possession of the best works, not only of contemporary painters, but of the older masters, established the high prices which have since prevailed in an increasing ratio for all works of art. During this period the American artist was at a disadvantage. There was a demand for portraits, and to some extent for landscapes, but pictorial compositions were more sought after, those which "told a story." Eastman Johnson is one of those who gained fame and fortune in this latter sphere. At this period, however, the most important development was that of illustration for the popular periodicals. The sudden rise in demand for black-and-white drawings was to a great extent not only an inspiration to many young artists, but it furnished the necessary means by which they could study abroad.

The exhibition of American art at Chicago in 1903 was so superior to what it had been seventeen years before at Philadelphia that the change seemed marvellous, but the succeeding twelve years accomplished even more. The roll of distinguished American painters at present is as long as that of almost any other nation, and is constantly increasing. In illustration, America easily leads. The fame of Gibson and Christy and some others is the greatest in the world for perfection in drawing and delicacy of treatment. This is a natural outgrowth of the enormous development of the illustrated literature of America.

In sculpture the names of MacMonies, Saint-Gaudens, and Ward transcend all others. Yet many besides are entitled to high consideration, including some who are not Americans by birth. Sculpture has never had such vogue in America as in Europe, possibly because of the fact that it naturally belongs to the cities. Now, American cities are apt to be more practical than artistic, and there is lacking that general appreciation of the good, the true, and the

beautiful in art among the masses that can be found in the older nations of Europe, which have had many generations of education. The American cities are beginning to adorn their plazas and public squares with works of sculpture, principally bronzes, since marbles are ill adapted to the extreme conditions of climate. Probably the greatest impression on the public of the potentialities of sculpture was made by the plaster forms shown at the expositions in Chicago and St. Louis, where not only the buildings and arcades, but the walks and bridges were adorned with unusually impressive works, many of which might well have been given a more enduring form.

It is improper to mention sculpture as being solely an outdoor exhibition of art. The same principles, the same education, and the same development which have produced so many monuments of importance that are familiar to the public have had the effect of improving largely every artistic production in which form is the principal factor. This is notable in the interior decoration not only of the palaces of the rich, but in the homes of the very moderately well to do who have learned more or less consciously the lessons of beauty in form.

In architecture the growth in the United States in thirty years has been amazing. In the earlier period of American history this art was executed wholly by foreigners, who came here for the purpose. In the middle of the nineteenth century the art had fallen so low that it could no longer be called by the name. It was well toward the close of the nineteenth century before American architecture began to have any permanent character or individuality. In this, the least plastic of the arts, where practical conditions are of the first importance, there is a narrower range of imagination than in some others, but, by the same token, the triumphs are more important. There is no distinctive American architecture as such, except the "sky scrapers," which belong to the realm of engineering and are considered in a later chapter. There is, however, within the limits prescribed,

an amount of latitude which calls for the closest study and the profoundest art.

In the last fifteen years a few American architects have risen to the highest rank, and many have achieved distinction. The construction of residences permits of art variations according to location. The United States is said to contain more handsome private residences than any other nation in the world. They lack, of course, the atmosphere of the ancient country seats of Europe. Few are in the Gothic style, but, because of the various modifications of styles which the Colonial and French Renaissance schools have worked out, American architecture contains most of the finest specimens, and the number is growing constantly.

In public buildings the exhibit is not so satisfactory. The City Hall of Philadelphia is one of the largest buildings in the world, and not without pretensions to architectural beauty either in the whole or in detail, but it is so hemmed in that there is no vantage point from which it can be viewed. The Capitol at Washington is a composite structure, the work of many architects. It has grandeur, though this is marred by unfortunate proportions. Architects are at present planning to overcome these defects. The public buildings of the last ten years, particularly the State capitols in the West, are generally fine specimens of architecture.

As the nation grows richer, every individual and corporation either feels, or is asked to recognize, that a duty is owed to the public in giving the highest possible expression to beauty that is consistent with economic considerations. Of business buildings some of the most noteworthy are the New York Stock Exchange, the Girard Trust Company's new building in Philadelphia, the Illinois Trust Company's building in Chicago, and some of the new hotels in the larger cities.

In Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and their environs are some of the finest specimens of private architecture in the world. The palaces of the wealthy in recent years have been conspicuous for their beauty as well as cost. Most of

the finest specimens of this sort of architecture are to be found on Fifth and West End avenues in New York City. But those in the suburbs are more imposing, and in many instances rival the best examples of Europe.

Church architecture is being rapidly developed, and generally along conventional lines. St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York is a close copy of the Gothic models in Europe. Trinity Church in Boston is one of the finest examples of modern architecture, and the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York will, when completed, be one of the finest ecclesiastical buildings in the world. The Madison Square Presbyterian Church in New York City, where marbles are tinted after the early Greek manner, is one of the world's unique structures.

The National Library building at Washington, the Boston Library, the library at Columbia University, and the Art Gallery of the Columbian Exposition, which has been preserved to posterity, represent some of the finest specimens of modern architecture. In late years, the commercial institutions, stock exchanges, and banks have paid tribute to the æsthetic by investment in architectural beauty which would have astounded the early financiers of America. In 1905 the amount spent for construction of buildings in the twenty-five largest cities of America exceeded five hundred million dollars.

In branches of the applied arts there has been noteworthy development. Designing of fabrics of all kinds and of various art forms, which for a time depended entirely upon foreign models or foreign artists, has now become essentially an American art, and is being developed rapidly by many schools established in various parts of the country. Almost all the popular and many of the most exclusive decorative designs are of American origin; and in this branch of art there seems no possible limit to set, seeing that the advancement every year is so rapid.

CHAPTER XX

ROOSEVELT'S ADMINISTRATION

WHEN President Roosevelt took the oath of office at Buffalo, in the presence of members of the Cabinet, he made an excellent public impression by announcing that he would carry out the policies of McKinley, and that he would insist that the Cabinet remain intact. Although the country had been shocked and grieved over the assassination of McKinley, there was little disturbance in financial and commercial circles, and the new president's words restored whatever confidence had been shaken.

Theodore Roosevelt is the youngest man who ever came to the chief magistracy and the only one of five accidental presidents who has not caused a split in his party or increased such divergency as already existed. On the contrary, no other president has exercised so much influence, not only over Congress or his party, but over the minds of the American people. It must be left to a later age to determine exactly the position which Roosevelt will occupy in history, but at this writing he is not only one of the most successful but the most popular of Americans.

The problems which Roosevelt had to face were not essentially partisan. The great questions of the gold standard and of a protective tariff had been settled for the most part, and the new president was concerned more in the subject of the general direction of public affairs than in pushing any partisan propaganda. He found it impossible

to retain the Cabinet of his predecessor in its entirety, though it was some months before any changes were made. In 1903, Congress established the Department of Commerce and Labor, and the first incumbent was George B. Cortelyou, who had risen, by successive stages, from an original appointment as stenographer in a bureau of the Post Office Department. In 1904 he resigned to become chairman of the Republican committee, and afterward was made postmaster-general. On the death of Hay in 1905, Elihu Root, of New York, became secretary of state. In the first four years of Roosevelt's administration there were many Cabinet changes, until only one was left of the original McKinley Cabinet of 1897.

The earlier work of Roosevelt's administration related largely to events growing out of the Spanish War which had not been settled at the death of his predecessor. The insurrection in the Philippines was in progress and the president used all the energies at his command to bring it to a successful conclusion and this was soon accomplished. He strove earnestly to secure the best possible personnel for the Civil Commission which replaced the military authorities in control of the archipelago. He worked actively to promote the condition of the people in Porto Rico who had suffered not only from tornadoes of exceptional severity, but from bad crops and political controversies.

It was soon discovered that much of the enthusiasm of the people in the insular possessions as well as in Cuba was dimmed because of the failure of so many to achieve the prosperity and promotion which they had expected. The situation in a way resembled that of the negroes at the end of the Civil War who expected to be given "forty acres and a mule." It required great tact to prevent a further insurrectionary outbreak, but it was accomplished, though the agricultural conditions in Porto Rico and the Philippines were worse than usual and difficult to meet. The American people found that the problem of dealing with strange nationalities was more complex than had been

anticipated and that some of the best preparations for the good of the new citizens were not received in a grateful spirit. In fact, the American people have had so little experience in colonization that the comparative failure in achieving satisfactory results was to be expected.

The army was reorganized on a peace basis. Many of the veterans of the Civil War received rapid promotion and were placed on the retired list. President Roosevelt's policy has been to give to every veteran of that war who served continuously and with credit the highest possible rank. As a result there are, in 1905, considerably more than two hundred major and brigadier generals on the retired list and only a handful in active service who served between 1861 and 1865.

The president was largely responsible for the reorganization of the navy, though some of it took place before his incumbency. He favored the amalgamation of the line and staff corps by which every graduate of Annapolis Academy is placed on the same basis. The modern fighting ship has become a congeries of machines, and no man is fit to command who is not an engineer and no engineer can properly serve who is not a seaman. The workings of the new system have not been thoroughly tested and have given rise to some friction. The president is an ardent exponent of a more efficient navy and its recent rapid increase is largely due to his influence.

Mention has already been made of the unusual course of the president in securing arbitration of the differences between the owners and miners in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania. It was at the time considered by many that this was a stroke of demagogery. It is of record that the president said at the time he took this action that he presumed that politically he was "done for," but that he would do what he thought was right. Probably no single act of any president was ever more popular.

In this administration occurred the terrible massacre of Jews at Kishineff. As there is a large Jewish population

in the United States the massacre produced a great sensation from the racial point of view and shocked the moral sense of the civilized world. The president was urged to protest against the situation because it was accomplished partly by orders and partly through connivance or negligence of the officials of the Russian government. He desired to do so, but the situation was one of extreme delicacy in diplomacy. To make or even transmit from others a formal protest would certainly produce a diplomatic rupture. Nevertheless the president felt that something should be done. He adopted the naïve method of sending the protest by cable to the American minister in St. Petersburg with instructions to ask if it would be received. As the czar got the protest almost as soon as the minister and declined to receive it officially the incident closed, but it had been received in the exact quarter desired and had all the moral effect of an official protest without giving rise to any possible cause for diplomatic rupture.

The Hague Conference of 1899, which established a system of international arbitration, had never been invoked until President Roosevelt sent to it a matter of dispute between the United States and Mexico concerning a financial claim dating back to the days when California was a part of Mexico. A dispute with Venezuela was similarly treated. The result was that the civilized world, which had begun to think The Hague plans chimerical and likely to die of inanition, took fresh courage, especially when, later, the president asked that a new conference be held, to which all nations agreed, though the meeting was necessarily postponed until after the close of the war between Russia and Japan.

From 1895 to the present writing (1905) the Republican party has been in control, not only of both branches of the national legislature, but, after 1897, of the executive. The minority representation in Congress has been reduced, and legislative questions have ceased to possess the exact partisan significance of former days. Since 1898 a large corpus

of legislation has been passed for the government of the insular possessions of the United States. The debate and dissension over questions arising out of this legislation has not been confined entirely to party lines. The administration, however, has had no difficulty in securing the passage of such legislation as seemed essential.

Coincident with the rapid increase of the corporations of the country came a demand for some form of regulation which would prevent existing and expected evils. The Federal constitution provides that Congress shall regulate interstate commerce, and also that each State shall give full faith and credit to the acts of all the rest. Congress had paid little attention to interstate commerce until 1887, when the first act was passed authorizing some Federal regulation of railway corporations. The so-called Sherman Anti-trust Act in some ways strengthened this law, but it was not until after the dawning of the twentieth century that control of corporations became the most important issue in politics.

Mention has already been made of the effort to combine the traffic interests in the northern States between Chicago, St. Paul, and the Pacific Ocean through a corporation known as the Northern Securities Company. The administration at Washington immediately attacked this as an illegal combination, and fought it through the courts with unusual celerity and complete success. The courts held that this combination was in restraint of trade and illegal. The decision of the court was unexpected by financial interests, but was acquiesced in, and the assets of the corporation were distributed.

President Roosevelt ordered all the law officers of the government to be especially active in enforcing the Interstate Commerce Act, especially with reference to those clauses which prohibited rebates or secret rates favoring certain shippers. Many suits were brought by the Federal authorities against railway corporations and others. Some convictions resulted, but progress was slow owing to the difficulty in establishing conspiracies. In the Congressional

session of 1904-1905 a stringent act was passed by the House of Representatives taking from the courts any authority in the matter of rates, and placing all power in the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission. This act failed to pass the Senate and aroused much contention. The railway interests complained that the proposed law was unconstitutional because it permitted of no appeal to the courts for redress. The subject became one of great interest in popular discussion during 1905, and when Congress met in the autumn of that year opposition to some sort of measure had ceased, and the only question involved was that of details, although it was practically agreed that there should be appeals to the courts in case of claims that rates established by the commission for passengers or freight were considered inequitable.

The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Northern Securities case was of great importance, not only because of the magnitude of the interests directly involved, but because other combinations were depending on the action of the court in this matter. If the Supreme Court had upheld the combination of rival interests, it seems certain that there would have been a large number of similar corporations formed for the express purpose of conserving interests in various localities. The adverse action of the courts ended this method of procedure, though it did not for the time being affect the actual relations of the particular corporations involved. The essential result was a cessation of rivalry which had involved the large corporations of the Northwest, and which threatened so many interests.

When John Hay was called to the head of the State Department by President McKinley, it seemed a fitting promotion for one who had served so long and so well in so many capacities, but it was not expected by anyone that he would round out his career with such distinguished services. Not in the history of the United States has there been a secretary of state who has been called upon to deal

with so many delicate questions in diplomacy or one who has been so uniformly successful. The sudden growth of the national spirit in the United States and the extension of the national boundaries led to what seemed to many to be an interfering policy on the part of the administration. The growth of the population of the country had been in large part due to immigration on an unprecedented scale. There was an exceedingly delicate question often presented as to the actual or relative interests of America in the affairs of other nations. Under other circumstances any diplomatic interference would have been looked upon as an outrage, but the very power of the United States in population, wealth, and potentialities compelled the respect of many nations which, before the war with Spain, had not considered America as a large factor in the affairs of the world. Although the conflict mentioned was not of great proportions, it resulted in establishing for the United States a strong position in the family of nations. This is rather remarkable, seeing that there was no doubt of the result, at any time, from a military standpoint, even considering the unprepared state of the American nation. It was the swift succession of victories with such slight losses which amazed the civilized world and gave the United States a prestige which has constantly grown.

President Roosevelt is distinguished among all his predecessors because of the boldness with which he has attacked any problem which seemed to call for action. He has never shunned any controversy, and has acted in matters which many presidents would have considered entirely outside their sphere. When Roosevelt interfered to stop the anthracite coal miners' strike, it was an unprecedented undertaking, and was adversely criticised in unexpected quarters. Nevertheless, it was an unusually popular move and resulted in at least temporarily averting a crisis of large proportions. His success was due not only to the high position he occupied, but to his own mental characteristics. He has compelled admiration even from his opponents in many stages

of his career, and has never failed to establish the sincerity of his motives and the substantial justice of his demands. In the coal strike controversy the victory was to a great extent personal, and was so considered by the American people.

For some time, a spirited opposition attacked the methods of the administration in directing the affairs of the insular possessions, but it made no stir in the world and was ineffective. An impression prevailed on the part of a few people who were popularly termed anti-Imperialists that American interests in the Far East would result in more complications than would be justified by substantive results. There was a small, conservative body in the country which felt that the president was too radical for the times, that he was acting not only without precedent or expressed authority, but that he was leading the public mind away from conservative moorings.

All such questions were more or less involved when the Republican national convention of 1904 met in Chicago on June 21st. There had been no doubt for some time of the unanimous nomination of Roosevelt. In the early stages of his incumbency of the White House he had encountered some opposition, and there were those who believed that Senator Hanna was bitterly opposed to him and willing to go to unusual lengths to prevent his nomination. Hanna's death removed whatever opposition there might possibly have been, and when the convention met the only problem was that of naming a vice-president. The platform was exactly in accordance with the policy of the president, and the second place on the ticket was given to Charles W. Fairbanks, a senator from Indiana.

The Democratic nomination was a matter of grave doubt up to the eve of the convention, which met in St. Louis on July 6th. Bryan had been so signally defeated in two campaigns that he was eliminated from the contest, though he remained an active factor in the situation. There was no longer any possibility of making an issue of free silver coinage, and it seemed that the result would turn as much on the personality of the candidates as on the platform. There

were several persons willing to accept the honors of the convention, but early in the contest there was a concentration upon Alton B. Parker, chief judge of the Court of Appeals in New York, who had been elected by a large majority in 1897. It was argued that a man who could carry the most populous State in the country a year after it had voted overwhelmingly for the opposition candidate for president must possess many qualities that would command popular approval. As Judge Parker and those who endorsed his candidacy were in favor of the gold standard, it was a matter of some difficulty to make an adjustment that would not offend the free silver wing and would not seem like stultification.

The committee on resolutions, which reported the platform, labored long over a financial plank that would put the party on record, and finally reported a series of declarations which practically dodged the issue of the gold standard. This was a compromise brought about by the warring delegates, and was considered the best way out of the situation. Judge Parker was easily nominated, not so much because he represented any issue on which the party could unite as because he seemed the most available man. While the honor was entirely acceptable to him, he felt that he could not appear in an equivocal situation, and consequently wired to the St. Louis convention that he considered the gold standard as irrevocably established by law, and that he would, in case of election, so construe it as the wish of the American people. The convention, which had not desired to go on record on this particular proposition, accepted the telegram as its own expression of opinion, though there were many delegates, including Bryan, who did not relish the change of position involved in this endorsement of a Republican doctrine which had carried the country in the two previous presidential campaigns.

The campaign of 1904 lacked the spectacular features of former ones. President Roosevelt made few appearances in public, and Judge Parker, who had meanwhile resigned

from the bench, maintained a dignified attitude, although at the close of the campaign he showed more activity and indulged in more partisan discussion in public than he had done in the early stages.

The issues of the campaign were in part personal and in part those of the success of the party in power. Roosevelt has never been exceeded in popularity as a candidate, and has never failed of election. Not only did he represent the principles of his party but his individuality appealed to a very large constituency regardless of politics. The issues of the campaign were less sharply defined than in previous years. The Democratic platform declared for reduced expenditures and lower tariff rates, and was particularly strong against the influence of great corporations, denounced as "trusts." The campaign closed with something like a personal issue between the candidates. Judge Parker accused the Republican Campaign Committee of soliciting contributions from corporations in return for promises of protection in legislative and executive circles. The chairman of that committee was Cortelyou, who resented the imputation, and the president was annoyed to such an extent that when on election night he received a telegram of congratulation from Judge Parker, his reply was curt.

President Roosevelt was elected by a vote that was unusual in some respects. He received a large plurality of the popular vote, and in the electoral college received votes from all but twelve States. Owing to local conditions the electoral vote of Maryland was divided. Judge Parker received the votes of the eleven States which had been members of the so-called Confederacy, and those of Kentucky and some from Maryland. He got no vote from north of Ohio and Potomac Rivers, and lost that of Missouri, which had been uniformly Democratic for more than a generation.

On the night of his election President Roosevelt announced to the people that he would not again be a candidate. He was inaugurated March 4, 1905, with an unusually large military and civic display.

The House of Representatives elected in 1904 was more strongly Republican than before, the Democratic membership being reduced to one hundred and thirty-six. The Senate was little changed by the State elections and contained a considerable Republican majority.

It was conceded on all sides that the success of President Roosevelt was much more than political, that he was stronger than his party, and that his own demands for courage and integrity in public office, and his exemplification of these qualities, had led to an unusual breaking up of party lines.

It appeared in 1904 that, owing to the rapid growth and loose administration of the Post Office Department, there had grown up a system of corruption which resulted in great loss to the public and much profit to contractors and some officials of the department. The president ordered a searching investigation, and as a result a number of employés were sent to jail, others dismissed, and the entire system was reorganized on a better basis. The Post Office Department has grown more rapidly than any other in the history of the American government. In the days of Benjamin Franklin there were but seventy-five post offices, while in 1905 there were almost seventy-five thousand. In that year the sum paid out by the government for the postal service was about twice the total Federal cost of administration in 1860. The expense was one hundred and sixty-seven million dollars, or about two dollars for every man, woman, and child in the country. There was a substantial deficit because of the cost of rural free delivery which was being rapidly extended all over the country. In 1905 almost one-third of the rural population was receiving free delivery daily, and it was the intention of the department to extend this to cover practically the entire country.

The most remarkable event in the career of President Roosevelt, one which gave him prestige throughout civilization as a world statesman, was his action in bringing the war between Russia and Japan to a close. When the president first tendered his offices simply to the extent of inviting

a conference of representatives of the warring powers, there seemed little likelihood that his invitation would be accepted or even received in a kindly spirit. Officially, Russia had maintained an attitude which seemed to prevent her taking any peaceful steps. To the surprise, and, largely to the amazement of the diplomatic world, the invitation was accepted, and representatives of Russia and Japan met at the Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Navy Yard, on an island opposite the city, and in the State of Maine. The proceedings were in secret, and almost to the last it seemed doubtful if an accommodation could be reached. M. Sergius Witte and Baron Rosen were the Russian commissioners-in-chief, while Baron Komura and Mr. Takkahira represented Japan. During the sessions, which were prolonged from the middle of August until the latter part of September, the eyes of the civilized world were turned upon Portsmouth. The most serious difference related to indemnity. The Japanese asked for a very large sum from Russia to cover the cost of the war. Russia absolutely refused, and negotiations were almost broken off, when, following the suggestion of President Roosevelt, Japan withdrew her claim to indemnity, and the convention was signed. Later it was duly ratified.

It was the opinion of the whole world that this result was almost entirely owing to the original invitation of President Roosevelt, and to his wise counsel during the negotiations. A shower of cablegrams reached him from kings, emperors, presidents, and distinguished men throughout the world, congratulating him and praising his services. Perhaps the heartiest of these were from the Mikado of Japan and the Czar of Russia, who were the most interested in the result.

The administration was confronted with vexing problems in Panama. The question of a canal route had been brought to a definite issue in June, 1902, when Congress passed a bill authorizing the president to arrange for the construction of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama if a good title could be given by the Panama Canal Company

and the necessary concessions could be obtained from the republic of Colombia; or, failing, then to arrange for the construction of a canal by the Nicaragua route. The title of the canal company having been approved, a treaty was signed with Colombia on January 22, 1903, providing for the immediate construction of a canal across the Isthmus. This treaty was confirmed by the United States Senate on March 17th, but it was not long before dissatisfaction with some of the conditions was manifested in Colombia, and the Senate of that republic rejected the treaty in August. This aroused a storm of protest from the people of the department of Panama, and, a month later, negotiations for a new treaty were authorized. The president, convinced that the treaty was equitable and promotive of the general welfare of the United States, but doubting the good faith of the proposed negotiations, forced matters by seriously considering the preliminary questions involved in adopting the Nicaragua route.

Meanwhile, affairs on the Isthmus had moved rapidly, and, on November 3d, the people of Panama declared their independence of Colombia, and established a provisional government. For a moment the situation threatened to be serious, and in order to protect American interests the United States gunboat *Nashville* was ordered to proceed immediately to Colon, but after a show of force and some bluster, Colombia withdrew her troops from Panama. On the 6th, the United States government accorded virtual recognition of the independence of Panama by ordering the American consul general to treat with the provisional government, and at the same time it advised the government of Colombia that it was prepared to recognize the new republic. This course caused violent demonstrations at Bogota against the United States, and it was openly declared that the revolution had been brought about in the interests of that country. Nor was this sentiment without an echo at home, for the administration was charged with unseemly haste in its recognition of the Panama government.

On November 18th, a treaty was signed between the United States and Panama which provided for the use, occupation, and control of a ten mile zone of land on the route of the canal, to be constructed in consideration of a payment to Panama of ten million dollars. This treaty was confirmed by the Senate February 23, 1904, and, by a bill passed April 22d, Congress authorized the president to take possession of "the Canal Zone" and provided for its temporary government. The title of the canal company having been transferred to the United States, the purchase money for the concession, forty million dollars, was paid to the company on May 9th, as well as ten million dollars to the government of Panama. On the 19th, the governor of the zone, General George W. Davis, announced his authority by proclamation, and the commission appointed by the president entered on its administration. Several questions involving conflict soon arose between the commission and the government of Panama, but these were adjusted toward the close of the year.

Congress in 1904 voted the president one hundred and thirty million dollars to construct the canal, and there was a popular expectation that the work would be pushed rapidly. Owing to many untoward circumstances this was not the case. The climate of the Isthmus of Panama is not attractive to those accustomed to temperate zones, and sanitary conditions there are wretched. The administration sent various eminent engineers to look after the work. The Canal Commission proved unwieldy in size, and dissension followed. The membership was changed and the executive plans altered. Comparatively little work was done in constructing the canal because no plans had been adopted. There was a difference among engineers as to the problems involved. Many wanted a sea-level canal constructed. In 1905, the president invited a number of the most distinguished engineers in the world to study the problem. After a careful investigation, the majority reported in favor of a sea-level canal, which, of course, involved greater

outlay and a longer time for construction than had been estimated for a lock canal. Notwithstanding this report the Canal Commission announced its decision in favor of the lock canal.

The president's annual message sent to Congress in December, 1905, was the longest in the history of the United States. It dealt extensively with all national questions, and recommended much important legislation. Probably at no time had a president of the United States more prestige at home and abroad or more actual political power. On some very important topics he had almost as unanimous and hearty support in the Democratic party as in his own.

President Roosevelt has been much more of a force in active affairs outside his regular duties than most presidents. He has travelled much and spoken with unprecedented frequency and unusual candor. In his first term he made a tour of a portion of the United States and in his second visited all the rest, following a precedent set by George Washington.

CHAPTER XXI

SCIENCE AND INVENTION

IT is impossible to compress into a single chapter more than a bird's-eye view of the extraordinary development reached in America through native scientific discoveries and original inventions in the mechanical world. "Yankee invention" was an international term a century ago, because of results before unattained. There is an old saw to the effect that necessity is the mother of invention, and this has been to a large extent the reason of the development in America of the constructive arts, but perhaps a larger factor has been the fact that the American was not hampered by the traditions of the guild. Many of the important inventions which are distinctively American have been made by those who originally were not even mechanics, and therefore were less handicapped by any set rules of action.

The New England States in the earlier years of the republic did undoubtedly furnish most of the inventions which made the nation famous. These were not in all respects important, though generally useful and almost always ingenious. It has been said that the New England farmer with ten children could not support his family on the soil, and so turned his progeny to other lines of mental and physical activity. In the days when necessity compelled constant energy, it was customary for the New England family in the long evenings, when agricultural toil was impossible, to engage in mechanical industries of some sort. Out of these home industries later grew many important manufactories

and corporations. During the second war with Great Britain and the Embargo which preceded it, the situation in New England during the bleak winters was especially unpleasant for the average inhabitant. With a foreign market cut off, the only avenue of support was by supplying domestic manufactures. Beginning with hats and shoes, the manufacture of almost all commodities, outside of crude iron, which had been long established, was developed rapidly. In bleak New England it was a case of work out new problems or starve. In the far South, climatic and economic conditions made the situation not less serious in the large but less impressive upon the individual, because the necessities of life were so few.

It may seem rather trite to call over the roll of American inventions which have not only made this country famous, but have added to the wealth and comfort of the world, yet mention is indispensable of those which are most important and which have influenced the whole world. Whitney's invention of the cotton gin, Fulton's first financially successful exploitation of the steamboat, Ericsson's first demonstration of the value of the screw propeller, although he was a foreigner impelled to come to America to achieve recognition, or the many minor inventions which so greatly aided many mechanic arts, need be only noticed here, since they belong to a period prior to that covered by this work.

The Civil War brought out many inventions of a practical character as applied to war, the most prominent of which was the ironclad. It seems curious that in a day when there were iron-built commercial vessels, there was not an ironclad warship afloat. The ingenuity of Americans was shown by both the North and the South, when every available material was employed to resist the ordnance of the enemy. The great invention of that conflict was Ericsson's turreted flat-decked vessel, commonly known as the monitor type, from the name of the first vessel so constructed. This single vessel is the basis of the reconstruction of all modern navies, but the type has passed through many developments

and modifications. During this conflict also there was a decided improvement in the construction not only of ordnance, but of rifles and small arms. Torpedo development likewise took its greatest initiative from the events of this war. All these inventions or developments may, in a sense, be looked upon as destructive and lacking the essential qualities of a useful invention.

The country had not long to wait for a more rapid development in the arts of peace. Already before the conflict there had been in agricultural mechanics some surprising results. Not only were plows and other ordinary farm implements of immemorial usage developed to unprecedented usefulness, but the mower, reaper, and thresher propelled by horse power had come into use. These did not, indeed, become highly popular until after the War, when so many of the young men rushed to the West to secure the vacant lands for farms that there was left in few communities a sufficient body of labor to harvest the crops. The scythe and the sickle could no longer be depended on, simply because they could not cut the crops in time. The machines for the work were introduced not only in the older farms of the eastern section, but in the Far West where labor was equally scarce. The prices of these implements were high, and many of the farmers gave notes for payment which added to their later financial sorrows. The rank of agriculture as one of the occupations of men may be said to be established in the United States. In the character of the men engaged, in the quantity and quality of the product, agriculture in the United States may be said to surpass that in other lands.

In this connection it should be said that the Agricultural Department of the United States has employed more agencies of a practical and scientific nature to improve the art than has been exemplified by any other nation. Every State has been given lands or funds to start agricultural schools. Nearly every State has agricultural experiment or observation stations which furnish gratuitous information,

and the department has issued the largest body of literature ever published on the subject, and has given it free to the farmers along with seeds and other materials. To-day in the West may be seen extraordinary examples of the manner in which these discoveries, inventions, and developments have been utilized. Steam or electric driven plows turn thirty furrows at a time which are immediately harrowed and seeded by the same force. Harvesting is on the same scale, so that farms of a thousand acres are handled with the same amount of supervision as the one hundred acre farm of a century ago. Even the small farmer is benefited. He can own or hire a reaper which harvests his grain rapidly, and it is threshed and ready for market in one-tenth of the time which would have been necessary in the days of hand labor. In spite of all this, the great complaint every year in the farming section is that there is a lack of men to work even at the good wages offered.

The printing art has shown, in some respects, the most marvellous development of all. From the days of Guttenberg in the middle of the fifteenth century there was for four hundred years little change in the methods of producing printed works. The type was set by hand and printed slowly by individual impressions upon the type by means of a hand press. At the opening of the nineteenth century lithography had made some improvement in one branch of the art, but it little affected the output of printing. When a rotary press was invented the increased product was considered remarkable, but there was the disadvantage that every sheet had to pass over the same set of types. A later invention increased the velocity of impressions, but the process of stereotyping added greatly to the output. This is scarcely an American invention, though it has received its highest development in that country. Stereotyping is simply the casting of a page form in a single piece of metal by means of a matrix. This is ordinarily accomplished by making a matrix of papier maché on a form of type and drying it by excessive heat under pressure. This forms a dry mould from which a page form can be cast. In the

case of a newspaper this is done by using a semicircular mould so that two stereotype plates will completely envelop a cylinder. In rotation, by combination with other cylinders similarly equipped, and in connection with ingenious folders, pasters, and distributors, a sheet of continuous paper is drawn through a printing press at rapid velocity. The product depends entirely upon the structure of the press. The original newspaper was of four pages, and printed on hand presses. When rotary presses using type forms were perfected, eight pages could be produced easily. After the invention of stereotyping and the modern press, there came a rapid development of the potentialities of a single mechanical combination. The largest newspaper presses are but combinations of smaller ones, though working with greater efficiency. Presses entirely of American invention exist which can turn out newspapers of forty-eight pages, cut, pasted, folded, and counted, at an enormous rate. As there are few newspapers, except on Sundays, calling for such a number of pages, the usual procedure is to print a number of identical newspapers on the same press. The printing press in its present development is almost entirely the result of American ingenuity. American-made presses are used over all the world.

In 1888 there was not a single morning newspaper in the country which published more than four pages for one cent a copy. Some of them published more on occasion, and there were a few that had almost regularly that number of pages in afternoon editions. When, in 1890, a Philadelphia morning newspaper was increased in size to eight pages and published regularly at one cent per copy, it was considered an unwarranted innovation, but the example was rapidly and profitably followed by others. A few years later the size of the ordinary newspaper was increased to ten, then to twelve, fourteen, and sixteen pages, with a larger number on occasion.

This rapid development was the result of several inventions and discoveries. The year 1890 marks very closely

the origin of the great increase of newspaper advertising by merchants. Before this time the discovery had been made that paper for ordinary uses could be made out of wood pulp. A log of soft wood, such as poplar, pine, spruce, and akin varieties, if placed against a rapidly revolving grindstone, was soon reduced to a soft pulp. When this was passed over fine copper screens to dry and driven between rollers, a paper of quality good enough for newspaper and other ordinary purposes was produced. The cost of paper dropped rapidly, as new inventions cheapened the process, and publishers were able to reduce the price of their wares. This caused a sudden increase in the volume of circulation of newspapers, bringing a greater advertising patronage and at a higher price. The result was a rapid mechanical reorganization of newspaper offices. The newspaper proprietors who had arranged for an eight or ten page paper found their presses too small, and larger and very expensive ones were introduced, only to be discarded again and again until the modern printing press is not only one of the largest of mechanical marvels, but is one of the most expensive, and is relatively a much finer mechanism than a watch. Its capacity for turning out at the same time the ordinary printed matter and the supplementary sections printed in many colors, and folding them all in one bundle, is considered by many mechanical experts the greatest achievement of practical operations.

Even this newspaper development and press extension would not have been achieved except for inventions of another sort. The process of setting type by hand had existed for over four hundred years. About the middle of the nineteenth century there were a number of inventions which seemed to aid the situation. These had for their purpose simply aiding hand composition of single types or doing it altogether by means of a machine. These were only partially successful. About the middle of the seventies, two men in America were engaged in a problem which would dispose of type entirely. Neither was a practical printer. Otto

Mergenthaler was an expert mechanic, but John R. Rogers was not even acquainted with types or mechanics. He was a school teacher. Both were working for some years at the same problem, along lines which were in some respects parallel and in others divergent. The object of both was to make the process of casting individual types from matrices—which had existed for centuries—continuous and under the control of an operator, so that, instead of using type, it would be possible to assemble matrices in order and cast a line of type at one instant, and then return the matrices to their places.

This invention is one of the most important in the range of the nineteenth century. In the work there were many difficulties discovered by both inventors. A question of priority of invention arose between Rogers, Mergenthaler, and others, out of which grew much expensive litigation, which was finally settled by a consolidation of interests; after which Rogers perfected the linotype machine. The use of the typesetting, or rather the typecasting, machine grew with extraordinary rapidity, and it is now used not only by the large newspapers of the country, but by many in the smaller towns, while its development has made it useful in other branches of publication.

There were other typesetting machines in progress of development at the same time. Some used ordinary types, which were set and distributed automatically. Some were variations of the Mergenthaler-Rogers linotype, and one was completely different. The Lanston monotype is a machine which automatically casts each individual type, assembles and justifies it during the operation. One operator translates the "copy" before him into holes punched into a paper ribbon, while another feeds the ribbon through a casting machine, resulting in the completed "galley" of type.

There are a number of other forms of typesetting machines, many of which have merit. It can be said that had it not been for these machines, the newspapers would never have been so greatly enlarged in form; yet, so far from

decreasing the total amount of labor in the composing rooms, they have vastly increased it, until an edition of one hundred pages of a newspaper is not uncommon. One of these contains the amount of reading matter which would be found in about eight of the standard novels of the day, counting the advertisements on the basis of the news matter.

One of the inventions which has had the greatest influence on popular literature is that which is commonly known as the "half-tone process." This is an invention by which pictures are reproduced by photography. At first this was only by means of the most careful and expensive processes, so that reproductions of only the great art works of the world could be economically made. It soon appeared that the reproduction of any picture was possible by means of the use of a screen to take the place of the former engraver.

It is hardly possible to explain this screen to the satisfaction of all readers, but it can be said that more than nine-tenths of the illustrations observed by any reader of publications of the day are the result of the new process. The principle is simple. A photograph is placed before a camera for reproduction on a negative. In that camera is placed a screen composed of fine copper wires crossing at various distances, according to circumstances. The number of these wires varies from fifty each way to the square inch for newspapers to over two hundred for the finest pictures. It is through this screen that all pictures are photographed for reproduction. The screen is behind the lens, and the sensitive plate receives all the impressions modified by the screen. As the minute copper wires are singly almost invisible, they make no impression at all on the negative, but the points where they cross are doubled in intensity, and therefore cause dots in the photographic reproduction. It is these dots made by the crossing wires which give a stipple effect to a picture, conserve the whole, and preserve the important portions. The picture is then printed on zinc or copper, showing the dots. These dots are naturally separated by intermediate spaces. These latter are eaten out by acids, and only the

dots represented by the crossing of the wires remain intact. This is almost exclusively an American invention, and has been developed in the United States to a degree which no other nation has approached. This principle is based on one of optics, which is familiar and has been of the highest importance in the engraving art.

The wood engravers, who for generations had been developing under the tutelage of the American editors of magazines, suddenly found their craft in danger. Many of them fled to the new process. Some continued to hold on to the art which was centuries old, and others took the practical course of transferring their own art to that of improving the finished half-tone engraving, in which many have been highly successful, since all true art is personal rather than merely reproductive. Nevertheless, the art of manual engraving now has fewer exponents than at any time in several generations, and, relatively to illustration, than in several centuries.

The steam engine cannot, of course, be looked upon as an American invention, and yet it has had some of its best developments in the United States. So long as the reciprocal engine was considered the only possible form, energies were directed solely in the direction of improving the power to be derived from the cylinder. The Corliss engine was one of the early and original improvements upon the practice developed by Watt. It involved large construction and much space, but it held its day through the greater part of a generation until succeeded by improved practices largely the result of American discovery. There was, however, recognized by engineers that there was a limit beyond which the reciprocating engine could not go. The following description is that of the steam engine familiar to ninety-nine per cent of the American public. Steam is introduced in one end of a cylinder through a sliding valve. The piston head, driving a piston, is forced in one direction until the steam escapes; then it is forced back by steam introduced from a valve in the other end of the cylinder. It is evident that

not only is there lost time at every stroke of the cylinder, but lost power, since it is not continuous. Mechanics have reduced the lost motion and the lost power to very low limits, but have never been able to overcome the difficulties which were, mechanically speaking, axiomatic.

The idea of continuous power by steam is not novel. Some glinting of the conception of a turbine seems to have lodged, more than two thousand years ago, in the minds of those clever Greeks who thought out problems somewhat in the direction which modern science has established. The problem presented from the earliest days of steam was this: the waterwheel turns round and round without loss of power, but steam has to work in two directions. Why not make a steam engine on the plan of the waterwheel? The effort was made by engineers over all the world, and the decisive results are generally ascribed to the combination of inventions of English and American mechanics. They achieved a victory over what had been considered the ungovernable quality of the turbine. The process has been developed until ocean steamers of the largest size cross the Atlantic with turbine engines, though it is admitted at this writing that this phase is still in its initial, though not experimental, stages.

Another series of inventions of great importance to the American people concerned those machines used in the making of shoes. As practically the whole civilized world uses some sort of footgear, the subject was of early importance. New England long ago aspired to furnish all the shoes for the country, and many of them were made at night by the fireside. This seeming waste of labor excited mechanics to devise some easier method, and the result was a gradual development by which hand labor in the making of shoes has been reduced to the minimum. It is doubtful if there is any other class of machines which reproduces so closely the human manipulations as are found in the various machines which make up a shoe manufactory. Forty years ago, the ordinary man bought shoes of the local cobbler. It

was considered almost a mark of poverty to buy one of the exhibits in the shoe store. In these days, the local shoemaker's trade is a discarded art.

Americans have developed the principle that making shoes depends primarily upon the last. Thereafter it is a mere matter of selection of material and oversight of machinery. The labor cost of making a pair of shoes is now less than ever before, and it is unquestioned that the product is better and generally cheaper, though the cost of materials is higher because of the demand both in America and in Europe for shoes made in the United States. Many large fortunes have been made out of inventions dealing with making shoes, and it is probable that these are almost equalled by American discoveries of chemical methods of tanning leather, replacing the long and expensive usages of other generations. American shoes are sold over all the world, and command a premium for their general adaptability and durability.

The records of the Patent Office of America show an enormous number of certificates issued to inventors, but the greater number of them are for improvements only. What are termed "basic inventions" are comparatively rare. In recent years many of them concern electrical appliances, which are discussed in another chapter. Many others are useful but not of great originality. Some of them are designed only for specific purposes which do not come into the public view. The greater number of those which are really important are concerned with mechanical operations which do not appeal to the public, except as they make the finished product cheap. It is asserted that there are some thousands of inventions of comparatively recent date, which deal with making buttons or other small articles. Machines of great intricacy have been invented for performing a slight process almost unknown outside of the particular industry involved. America has been for many years noted for a class of machines known as "tools." These are the power-driven implements which make the various parts of the engines and machines with a precision impossible by hand.

work. Some of them are very large, as the steam trip-hammers or turning lathes in which are forged or turned all sorts of things, from the many-ton cannon to the smallest screws in engines. These have received unusual development in America, where the complaint is made that no sooner is a labor-saving machine invented than it is copied in Europe before it is possible to take advantage of the international patent laws.

Probably the phonograph and the kinetoscope, with its later developments, have exercised more influence on the imagination than many of the more strictly useful inventions. The phonograph is the production of Thomas A. Edison, who adapted a very simple principle in mechanics to the reproduction of sound. He took for his starting point the fact that a wagon going through the mud made certain ruts which all succeeding wagons of similar weight must follow. It did require much ingenuity to apply this principle to reproducing sound, but it was one of mechanics only. He used the fundamental fact that sound is simply a reproduction upon the ear drum of the waves of the air. He discovered a simple method by which a disc with a stylus attached could be made to indent a wax cylinder under the pressure of waves of air made by the human voice or otherwise, and that these could be reproduced by causing the stylus which made the original indentations to cover the previous ruts, giving back the original vibrations which impinged on the ear producing the original sounds. Since his first invention there have been many improvements of wide applications, but the principle has been unchanged.

The kinetoscope, which under various names has been popular in reproducing moving pictures, is based on a similar principle, though of another application. It requires a brief but definite space of time for light waves to make an impression upon the retina of the eye. The principle is applied to photography by taking in rapid succession a series of pictures of moving objects on a continuous negative, which is developed, printed on another film as a "positive,"

and then by means of magnifying through the ordinary "magic lantern" is thrown upon a screen in an exaggerated form. The different "exposures," as many as thirty thousand to a single film, are made to pass through the lantern as rapidly as impressions can be made upon the retina of the eye, with the resultant effect that the beholder witnesses the exact reproduction of the scenes originally photographed. The expense of this invention has confined its use largely to towns and cities, but its educational value is very great.

These two inventions have been modified and developed in many ways, singly and together, and have become unusual features of enjoyment in the home or in public demonstrations. There are others less popular, but probably of more utility under given circumstances.

The development of the submarine ship is not wholly American since the subject has been one that has engaged the attention of inventors and mechanics for generations. Still, it may be asserted that the American submarine vessels are the most efficient in existence, and involve entirely new principles. Liquefying air was not many years ago conceived as a discovery of great importance, and it was believed that many important commercial results of financial magnitude would follow, but these have not been achieved at present.

In the realm of chemistry it would be impossible to mention the things that have been accomplished. This branch of science is by no means localized. Judged by the standard of the international jury which gives out the Nobel prizes, America has in the last few years done little in the realms of pure science, in literature or in philanthropy, to give the nation the highest standing. The Nobel prizes were founded by the inventor of dynamite to reward those who in a number of branches annually do the greatest good for mankind. Some of the prizes are for scientific work, some for literary production, and one for advancing the cause of universal peace. None of these prizes has been awarded to

an American, though in each branch of effort men in the United States have accomplished much.

In mathematics there have been many men to shine in the galaxy of those who adopt this most perfect of the sciences, but few Americans have achieved reputations equal to those gained in Europe. In astronomy alone has the United States made a more than ordinary record. The best telescopes of the world have in recent years owed their power and accuracy to lenses ground in Massachusetts. The investigations of the astronomers are not less noteworthy than some of the abstract conclusions of some of the scientists. One of the greatest names in modern astronomy is that of Professor Simon Newcomb, long at the head of the Naval Observatory in Washington, author of many abstruse as well as of popular works on the subject, and a man whose views are received the world over with great respect. He belongs to the conservative wing of science, and, while not denying some of the propositions of the younger generation, has demanded that nothing be accepted that is not proved. Professor Richard A. Proctor, though born and educated in England, spent much of his active career in America, and his writings on astronomy had great effect on the popular imagination.

The greatest work, constructively, that has been done in astronomy in America has resulted from the founding of the Lick Observatory, in California, another, largely for photographic purposes, in the Southern part of the same State, the Yerkes Observatory, in Wisconsin, and the Harvard Observatory, near Arequipa, in South America. There have been many distinguished astronomers in America besides Professor Newcomb; it is necessary to mention only Professor Pickering and Percival Lowell. These, by private investigation, have in great measure added to the knowledge of astronomy or astro-physics, and there are several others who have achieved like distinction.

In medicine, America has contributed less to the art than to the practice. There are many Americans distinguished

in every branch, and not a few have gained more than national renown. In this connection, we may name Dr. D. Hayes Agnew, of Philadelphia, as a conspicuous example. On the other hand, it is claimed for the United States that it contains more well equipped hospitals than any other nation, and that it gives more attention to the average individual in ill health. The hospitals recently built in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Chicago are the most expensive, the most elaborate, and the most sanitary in the world. In the most approved hospitals there are no angles anywhere to catch the dust, and the air is carefully screened before entering the buildings. There has been a notable growth of medical colleges, both of the so-called regular and of the homeopathic schools. In addition, there have been variations from these, such as the eclectic and osteopathic schools. Bloodless surgery, which came into world-wide notice largely through an Austrian surgeon, was long practised in America before it acquired such fame.

In applied science the United States has been prominent. It contains a large number of schools and colleges which are devoted solely to instruction in this branch. The demand for engineers is one that has arisen out of the desire to develop the many and varied natural resources of the country. Civil engineers have advanced the science of railway construction to a large degree, though they have not equalled some of the marvels accomplished in Europe. American engineers have achieved a facility in economically utilizing means at hand which has aided in the rapid extension of railways. It is true that this has largely been followed by a considerable amount of reconstruction, but where time is the principal element, permanency of way has been relegated to a secondary place.

Some of the most notable institutions of this sort are: The Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, at Troy, New York; Case School of Applied Science, at Cleveland; Massachusetts Institute of Technology, at Boston; Stevens Institute, at Hoboken, New Jersey; Purdee University at Lafayette,

Indiana; Armour Institute of Technology, at Chicago; The Pratt Institute and the Polytechnic Institute, both of Brooklyn; the institution just being developed by Carnegie at Pittsburg, which is expected to be the best equipped in the world; and Lehigh University, at South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. There are others of merit, and, in addition, every large university has an important school or schools dealing with the various branches of civil, mechanical, mining, and electrical engineering, as well as with chemistry and physics.

Americans for a century have been noted as bridge builders, not only for achievements, but for laying down scientific principles of construction. When European railways were being constructed in a substantial manner, American engineers were principally concerned in rapid extensions. While rapidity involved many undesirable features, it did serve to bring out the very best that there was in American ingenuity. The wooden truss bridges were long used and were distinctly American inventions. The methods of avoiding great natural obstacles instead of attacking them directly are largely of American origin.

The most famous bridges in America are those which span East River between New York and Brooklyn. The so-called Brooklyn Bridge, when constructed, was by far the longest suspension bridge in the world, and was considered a marvel of engineering. It was opened for traffic in 1883, and cost about twenty million dollars.

The Williamsburg Bridge, situated about a mile north of the Brooklyn structure, is larger in all dimensions, and cost, exclusive of real estate, eleven million dollars. It was opened for traffic in 1904. Two other bridges across East River are in process of construction.

The Poughkeepsie Bridge, across Hudson River, is the largest cantilever structure in America. A similar bridge, of less dimensions, but involving more difficult engineering problems, crosses the Niagara Gorge a few miles below the falls. There is a very high cantilever bridge over Kentucky River near Camp Nelson, which was one of the earliest of

this form of construction and long the highest in the United States.

The Kinzua Viaduct, in northwestern Pennsylvania, is one of the longest and highest structures of the sort in the world, its chief rival being a bridge constructed in India by an American firm.

The Eads Bridge, across the Mississippi, is notable as being the largest steel arch structure in the world. There are many very long steel truss bridges in the West, some of which are monuments of the triumph of science in overcoming the most difficult problems. The longest stone bridge in America is across the Susquehanna near Harrisburg. It carries four railway tracks and is more than a mile long.

It may be said, however, that the great triumph of American ingenuity has been in the adaptation of ideas wherever found, and in giving them larger use than elsewhere. Particularly in the construction of buildings the American engineer-architect has exhibited a daring nowhere else manifested. The modern office building, sometimes called the "sky scraper," is a notable triumph of engineering. In its essentials it is not different from the bridges which span the mighty streams, except that the strains are differently placed and the stress is vertical.

The steel structure office building is a distinctively American production. It is really an evolution born of the development of the elevator which is practically if not actually an American invention. In the growth of cities ground space is valuable. From time immemorial there has been a central mart in each city which has been not only the place for trade, but for the meeting of citizens. Some thirty years ago there was erected a ten story building in New York City which was looked upon as one of the wonders of the world. That the sky could be pierced to such a degree indicated further possibilities which were soon employed. Buildings of stone and brick were erected, but ten floors seemed about the limit, since to go higher required too much

space on the ground floor for the walls which could carry the weight. The problem in Chicago was of peculiar difficulty because that city rests upon a swamp of mud, and foundations are secured only by going to unusual and expensive depths. When engineers evolved the plan of placing buildings on a floating raft in the mud, it was but a short step to erecting a vertical bridge. Hence the steel skyscraper, a style of construction that has become popular in all the large cities of America. It combines strength, economy of space and money, and rapidity of construction. It permits of most of the work being done away from the scene of construction, and the process of finishing progresses in many directions at once. The most unique structure of the sort in the world is that known as the Flat Iron Building in New York. If this method of construction had not been employed the triangular spot on which this building is constructed would not have been highly valuable. Under former methods, foundation walls would have absorbed a large portion of the ground space. The building is a remarkable example of the triumph of engineering over conditions which a generation ago would have been considered unconquerable. A result of this form of construction has been greatly to increase the value of real estate in all the business centres of American cities. The same principle is applied to buildings of modest dimensions as well as to those which reach to over thirty stories in height. A view of the lower end of Manhattan Island, a development of less than fifteen years, emphasizes the importance of this method.

One result of this form of construction has been to consolidate the business interests of a city in a very small section. It has also made construction of large and commodious as well as properly lighted factory buildings possible. This development has been very largely confined to America. In European cities prejudice exists against the erection of high buildings, largely because they are supposed to exclude light and air; although expert testimony has

been to the effect that, on the average, the tall office building of America is superior in these respects to the ordinary structure.

The concentration of business in congested centres has given rise to many other problems, and notably that of transportation. The sky-scraper has increased the congestion, so that in some instances seven thousand persons are said to be employed in a single structure. In Chicago, several hundred thousand persons are employed on one square mile of ground, and practically none of these remain in this territory overnight. The inflow and outgo in all the large cities has made other than surface transportation essential. New York led the way in the late seventies by constructing elevated railways along a number of the principal avenues. This relieved congestion for some years, and resulted in a rapid development of the city to the northward. As the city grew in size, other expedients were adopted. Surface cars were hauled by an underground cable,—a method used in a number of cities for a few years,—but this was succeeded by an underground electric trolley.

Boston had, about 1895, partially solved its problem by constructing a subway; that is to say, a tunnel underneath the streets, through which surface cars were run. New York City, following this plan, constructed, at a cost of fifty million dollars, a subway reaching from Brooklyn to the north end of the city. This was a daring piece of engineering, considering the fact that there were so many sewers, pipes, and conduits in place, that traffic could not be disturbed, and that a tunnel must be dug under East River. The subway was opened for traffic in 1904, but some years will be required for the construction of the Brooklyn tunnel. The success of the original subway led to the immediate preparation of plans for extensions, and it is expected that in a few years the principal avenues of the city will be likewise pierced by subways. The motive power in the subways now in operation is electricity.

Philadelphia has constructed a somewhat similar subway, as well as an elevated system. Chicago has elevated railways and a system of subways designed to distribute freight. Kansas City also has elevated railways, and nearly every large city is expanding its transportation system.

The most daring engineering enterprise in the world is that being undertaken by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, to enter New York by tunnels under North or Hudson River. Tunnels under rivers had been built previously, notably under Detroit and Chicago Rivers, where distances were short and conditions were favorable. Even the Hudson had been almost completely tunnelled in the early eighties for the purpose of street car traffic. An accident halted the completion of the work for nearly twenty years, and when finished it was not available for railway trains.

The Pennsylvania plans, in process of execution (1905), provide for a tunnel from a point near Newark, New Jersey, under Hudson River, New York City, and East River to a point in Long Island City. From the latter point, connection with the north shore of Long Island Sound is to be made by a bridge over Hell Gate, high enough to offer no obstruction to steamship traffic.

The peculiar phase of this work is not its length or cost (estimated at over \$50,000,000), but the fact that steel tunnels must be driven through the soft silt at the bottom of the river and supported every few rods by piers sunk down to bed rock one hundred feet below. This is a task never before attempted, and involves engineering plans to solve problems which, at this writing, are solved only on paper, but which engineers believe will offer no insuperable difficulties in executing.

Of collateral interest are engineering problems on western railways where long tunnels have been constructed at immense cost. America has no tunnels which, in length, compare with those in Switzerland, but there are many which are over a mile long. The modern tendency of railway managers is to go to what a generation ago would have been

considered extravagant lengths to make railway lines as straight and level as possible. The Union Pacific spent many millions in constructing a short line across the Great Salt Lake to avoid curves and grades. This difficult problem was solved in 1905, after repeated disappointments.

The estimates of railway managers for increased equipment, reconstruction, and new terminals for 1906 are one billion dollars, or about one fourteenth of the total capitalization. The cost of terminal facilities has not only increased with the growth of cities but has involved many engineering problems so as to avoid grade crossings. It is estimated that the value of terminal facilities on many of the trunk lines is equal to one-third of the total capitalization. In Boston and St. Louis many millions have been spent in new freight and passenger terminals and in the erection of new buildings, which in many cases are ornamental as well as useful. Philadelphia is one of the best equipped cities in this respect, but the work is incomplete after an expenditure of about forty million dollars. It is estimated that when all the New York terminals are reconstructed and operated by electricity the new expenditure will be one hundred million dollars, not taking into account the many millions previously expended. Manhattan is no longer to be an island.

One of the greatest achievements of American ingenuity is the system of making all the parts of any manufactured article by machinery according to templates, so that they are interchangeable. This is seemingly such a natural and easy method of procedure that it is rather surprising to know that it is of recent development. It not only cheapens cost, but makes the work of repair or replacement much easier. In the United States, every separate part of a machine from a watch to a locomotive is made exactly the same for the same type and can be replaced easily. Two locomotives of the same class have been in collision, and mechanics have been able to construct out of the wrecks of the two a complete and serviceable engine. The American sewing

machine, which is found all over the world, is a triumph of this sort of construction.

After all, what distinguishes Americans from people of all other nations in mechanics is the facility and even eagerness with which the newest development is secured and the older thrown aside. In Europe, it is common to use machinery long after it has passed out of style, because of the seemingly unwarranted cost of procuring the newest improvements. In America, the annual scrap heap of good but discarded machinery of all kinds is of enormous size.

Most American inventions are eminently practical in their uses, though there has been a large number of those which are fantastic or even useless. The American has long wrestled with the problem of navigating the air, with partial success both in airships and aeroplanes. Every year brings forth new efforts in many directions. Those inventions which are strikingly original are necessarily few, but improvements on those already in existence are constant. In electricity the developments have been so notable as to require treatment in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER XXII

DEVELOPMENT IN ELECTRICITY

FROM the days of Franklin to the present time, the United States has been foremost not only in developing the science of electricity, but in making practical use of it. No other country in the world uses this element so largely for the purposes of light, heat, and power.

While many have laid claim to priority of invention over Morse and Vail in constructing and operating a "magnetic telegraph" line, to these two men the world has awarded the credit. Whatever others may have done in an experimental way, it is certain that Morse was the man who first secured public recognition and opened a new means of communication to the whole world. Inventions and improvements almost innumerable have been made for expediting the use of the telegraph. Only the most important of these need be mentioned. The Wheatstone system of transmission is a method of sending messages over a wire faster than the human arm can operate a key. Messages are, by an ingenious device, transferred to a ribbon of paper in which positions of holes punched give electrical impulses which at the other end of the wire result in written or printed signs which are easily translated by the expert. By this method the capacity of a wire is increased more than tenfold.

The invention which has caused most public comment is that by which several messages can be sent over the same

wire and in opposite directions at the same time. Description of the apparatus used in this process would be too technical for the ordinary reader, but its effect is to give each wire at least four times its former effectiveness. These two inventions work an enormous saving over the original methods employed.

Another invention of commercial importance is the printing telegraph, which is used largely for the "tickers" in the offices of brokers and bankers, and for disseminating general news in various centres, being a sort of continuous daily newspapers. This is an ingenious, though not very rapid, form of transmission, but hundreds of inventions have been made looking to the completion of an actual printing telegraph which shall be rapid and dispense with the Morse code used on the wires. Several of these have proved successful in operation, though none has come into very general commercial use. The system involves the use of a keyboard, similar to that of a typewriter, on which the message is "pounded" out and automatically printed at the other end of the wire.

The telautograph, also used on the telegraph wire, is an ingenious device by which the writing of any person can be reproduced at almost any distance. This very ingenious device has not come into very general use.

Notwithstanding the many inventions for increasing the efficiency of the telegraph wire, and the competition of the telephone, the business of the telegraph companies has increased constantly, requiring large additions annually to wire mileage. There are now (1905) in the United States some two hundred and fifty thousand miles of telegraph routes, with wires exceeding one million four hundred and twenty-five thousand miles in length, not including those used by railways for operating their own business. The average number of messages sent each year in the United States exceeds one for each head of the population. Over ninety per cent of the commercial telegraph business of the country is conducted by two corporations.

Up to about the year 1875 the telegraph represented almost exclusively the development of electricity. It was used for annunciators, and to some extent in medicine, and for various interesting experiments, but it was through the telegraph alone that man got substantial benefits. At that period so little was known or understood about the nature of electricity that it had a very small place in the curricula of colleges and universities. In most instances, no more than a few pages were devoted to the subject in the study of physics; and where more extended treatises were given, they were more theoretical than practical. The rapid development of knowledge in this branch may be imagined when, only twenty-five years later, there were technical schools devoted to the study of electricity alone, with courses extending over four years.

There has been more dispute as to the credit for the invention of the telephone than over the telegraph, and nearly every prominent feature has been the subject of prolonged litigation. The position of Professor Alexander Graham Bell with respect to the telephone is much like that of Morse to the telegraph. Others may have been working along the same lines, and may have achieved some success earlier or *pari passu*, but it is certain that Professor Bell first gave the public a demonstration of the telephone in a way to arouse attention. Even then, many scientific as well as hard-headed business men could see in the invention nothing more than a toy. To their lasting regret, many refused to take a proffered interest in it. Even after the invention had become perfected and was in commercial operation, the growth of the business was slow. In its early years the service was expensive and confined very largely to use in commercial districts. At first, difficulties in operation over a wire for a long distance seemed insurmountable. Later they were conquered, and practically the entire United States east of the Rocky Mountains is connected with the telephone. The Far West has a system of its own. For some years the Bell patents on telephones gave one

corporation a virtual monopoly of the business. When the basic patents expired, competing companies were organized in many parts of the country, and the increase in the number of telephones was rapid, amounting to more than five hundred per cent in the first five years of the twentieth century. The development has been not in the cities alone, but in the rural districts as well. Recent statistics covering the extensions outside of the cities by the independent lines are incomplete and misleading. Every year the number of farms in the country connected by telephone increases enormously, to the comfort and profit of those concerned. The telephone wire mileage already far exceeds that of the telegraph, is mostly underground, and is being rapidly extended. More use per capita is made of the telephone in the United States than in any other country in the world. A decade of development in the ratio of the last five years would make practically all members of the population of the United States able to talk to each other by the telephone.

The telegraph and the telephone have a peculiar relation to society, which has been augmented by the wireless telegraph, a later development which probably deserves more attention than it usually receives. In the last few years some interesting exhibits have been given in wireless telephony, which have aroused unusual scientific interest and which promise great commercial development in the future. Wireless telegraphy cannot be claimed primarily as an American invention, but inventors in the United States not only lay claim to equal or prior inventions, but to a simpler method of operation. The use of wireless telegraphy in the United States is probably greater than in any other country. One of the earliest commercial lines to be established was in Alaska, where conditions for the time made it impossible to string wires or lay cables. Most of the American naval vessels are equipped with wireless instruments, and practically all the commercial steamships which cross the Atlantic are provided with them, so that constant communication with shore is generally possible,

and at all times the dangers of navigation are mitigated by the ability to call for help at any moment from any passing vessel.

There are a number of persons who lay claim to the invention of the electric light, and perhaps the discussion is rather profitless. It had been known for many years previous to 1876 that a strong current of electricity would bring many substances to a white heat. It was in America that the electric arc light first found commercial development, and at once came into wide use, and it is claimed that American inventors first made it a financial success. At about the same time there were developments in Great Britain and Germany along the same lines, but the conservatism of those countries caused delay in establishing systems for either public or private use. In the period in question there was a larger demand for this kind of light in America, especially in mines. It soon became popular for street lighting and other purposes, but much later for use in residences. The arc light in its early stages was defective in many respects, but there has been a constant improvement so that it is now easily maintained.

The greatest development of electric lighting came with the invention of the incandescent lamp by Thomas A. Edison. The construction of the lamp is so simple, and its use so general, that it gives no hint of the many researches and experiments which preceded its final evolution. The principle is simple. A piece of carbon made from bamboo is inserted in a vacuum, and a current of electricity heats it to the proper degree for giving light. The use of these lights is now almost universal in cities, towns, and even in villages where there is an opportunity to get reasonably cheap power. The government Census Bureau estimated that in 1902 there were almost four hundred thousand arc lights and more than eighteen million incandescent lamps in the country. The total amount of capital invested in these enterprises was somewhat more than five hundred million dollars, and thirty thousand persons were employed in the

various departments. The use of the electric light is growing constantly, because of various inventions by which the cost is reduced. Most of the lighting companies in existence have been obliged to sink vast sums in experimental work, and many of the original investments were unprofitable. Following a not unusual custom in the United States, the electric lighting companies have capitalized all their failures, with the result that the cost of the electric light is in excess of that in many other countries. There are some sections of the United States where water power is used, and in these cases electric light and power transmission are on a large scale.

The use of the power at Niagara for electric purposes has increased steadily, and has given rise to no little fear that the superb natural spectacle may eventually be injured, if not ruined, by the use of too much of the tumbling water for commercial purposes. That situation has not yet arrived, but the turbine wheels at Niagara produce an unusual amount of power, which is constantly being more widely distributed. On this basis of recent improvements in the transmission of electric power, there are scientists who think that in a few years it will be possible, economically and profitably, to use wires for this purpose to a distance of five hundred miles, a suggestion that indicates that much more of the vast power at Niagara is to be utilized in future. This discovery is due to a naturalized American.

The most recent development of electric lighting is the Peter Cooper Hewitt lamp, named for its inventor. It involves the same principle as the Edison incandescent lamp, except that the illuminating medium is not carbon, but mercury changed to gas by electricity. Although this invention is considered of the first importance, it is not as yet in extended commercial use, but it is believed that it will have a vast influence on the future of the subject of all forms of lighting. In the last days of 1905 an invention of somewhat similar purpose is expected to prove of great importance. The use of gas instead of carbon as the illuminating medium

is developed to an unexampled degree, and electrical experts seem to think that it is along such lines as these that the electrical development of the future is to proceed.

In the early years of the twentieth century the use of turbine engines to develop electricity grew apace. Every available water power was examined for the purpose, since it is the cheapest power known. But the development of the steam turbine engine has had more effect on electrical development than anything else. It may have an almost revolutionary effect on the future. The problem of mechanical engineers for more than a century has been to get a larger amount of applied power from the potential of coal. In an early day not more than five per cent of the calorific power of coal was actually conserved. It was long before ten per cent could be used with advantage, and innumerable inventions have been made to increase this amount as much as possible. Compound engines helped in this direction. The use of the turbine steam engine in electrical development has been greater than in any other direction up to this time. The advantage is not only of economy in fuel, but of space, which is a prime consideration in many instances. The indications at this writing are that practically all the development of electricity, outside of water power, will be in connection with the steam turbine. Taking the government estimate of eighty-five million dollars expended annually for electric light, heat, and power, it seems probable that the development in the future is to be notable. Electrical engineers estimate that a continuous progress for ten years, which will afford as much saving as in the decade ending 1905, will make electric lighting well-nigh universal, except in rural districts.

By far the most important development of electricity has been in the direction of transportation, not only as regards the present, but the future. Electrically driven cars are essentially American in invention and development, though they are to be found throughout the civilized world. A controversy interesting from an academic point of view

involves the priority of invention and operation in this field, but the latest investigator seems to think that to Appleton, Wisconsin, belongs the credit of operating the first electrically driven cars. Cleveland, Ohio, and Wheeling, West Virginia, are close competitors for the honor, though Edison claims to have operated a private line before any of his competitors. Practical success in this direction was demonstrated as early as 1877, when there were but a few miles in any part of the country operated by electricity, but the development immediately expanded with unusual rapidity. Ten years later the horse car was rarely seen in the large cities, and in ten more it was almost entirely extinct. The transmission of electric power by means of copper wires is rapidly developing in spite of the fact that engineers feel that there is an immense amount of waste that can be conserved in the future. Practically every town and city in the country uses this kind of power to operate the surface lines on their streets as well as in the subways in a few cities. Compared with former systems the power is cheap, but the method is believed to be only in its infancy.

The statistics as to so-called "trolley" companies are not easy to give, since returns fail to discriminate between the urban and suburban lines. The single-track mileage in 1905 amounted to about thirty-two thousand, mostly in cities and towns, and the invested capital was in the neighborhood of two billion five hundred million dollars, or about one-fifth of the amount invested in the steam roads of the country. In 1902 nearly five billion passengers were carried, and the number since that time has increased rapidly.

The development of the suburban trolley has been constant, though attended with many difficulties, legal and mechanical. The invention of the "multi-phase" and of the "alternating currents" made the extension of service easy. In a few years from the first use of an electric car in cities, suburbs were connected and extensions made, which now are not only widely developed, but are being constantly

extended. East of the Mississippi the development of suburban trolley lines has been rapid, because of the fact that so few engineering problems were involved. Most of the lines were built along the edge of the highways, and the power was so directly applicable that steep grades were of little importance. The actual construction of a trolley road, even with the heavy rails and expensive equipment of modern times, is not great compared with that of a steam road. The cost of operation is rather heavy, but the trolley roads enjoy the great advantage of having no previous failures to capitalize and no changes of roadbed to meet modern requirements. In twenty years ending 1905 a large portion of the roadbed of American steam railways had been reconstructed at much more than the original cost. Grades were lowered, curves eliminated or flattened, and new equipment, from ties and rails to cars, purchased. All this entailed a heavy expense, for which the patrons of the companies have been generally compelled to pay. The sinking funds or surplus have never equalled these extraordinary improvements, though the result has been that the existing railway systems are considered worth more than all the capital involved, whether that capital has been invested or not.

The country trolley railway has had the advantages of inexpensive right of way and cheap construction, in most instances; but generally it has had to meet the opposition of steam railway managers, who have seen in the trolley line an important rival of their own interests. The development of steam railways in the United States would have been impossible except under the exercise of the right of eminent domain and large charter privileges. These grants were liberal, but considered proper in view of the immense advantages accruing to the public through quick and cheap transportation. These rights have been seldom extended in full degree to the trolley roads. In most of the States there is either no right of eminent domain, or only a restricted one. In nearly all there is a restriction on the business that the trolley corporations may do, most of them confining it to

transportation of passengers or light express and mail. It is evident that this condition cannot permanently endure, and that in the future the trolley road will perform practically every function of the steam road. The subject has become prominent in politics, and the course of events in various States seems to be in favor of the electrical companies.

In the beginning, most of the electric lines, whether city or suburban, were short, and independently managed. In the last ten years there has developed the same tendency toward centralization as was noted in the steam railways. In most cities there are but one or two operating companies, while most of the suburban lines are being consolidated or allied with urban terminal companies. In Ohio and Indiana there are consolidated lines which are almost of the magnitude of trunk lines of steam operated roads, and which give every indication of continuous expansion in this direction. It should be noted that while the development of the electric roads has been constant, both in investment, equipment, and patronage, the steam operated railways have made great gains in earnings, so that the competition has not yet reached a stage destructive to either.

The important electrical event of the early years of the twentieth century was the adoption of electrical power in large commercial centres by the steam railways. Pioneers in this regard were the Pennsylvania and the New York Central railways, which took steps, now (1905) in process of execution, which, when completed, will remove the steam locomotive entirely from New York City. While the original plans contemplated that the terminals only should be thus operated, continued extensions have been made, until the Long Island system, with an extensive mileage of steam operated roads, is being transformed into an exclusively electrical railway; so that there will be no locomotives in use on this system two years after this work is published. That steam locomotives will eventually disappear is the prophecy of many engineers.

The New York Central has already placed its steam limit about thirty miles beyond the metropolis in all directions, and there is no reason to doubt that the limits will be extended. This development is partly one of necessity and partly of ultimate economy. Entrance to New York City is in every case to be by subterranean means. In the country there is more chance for selection. One may easily imagine that the first twenty years of the twentieth century will bring about extraordinary changes in motive and propulsive power along various lines of industry. If there is a continuance of the developments of power distributed from central stations, the progress is certain to be great. Happily, this is not the only avenue which is open to progress.

The storage battery is coming more and more into use, and there are those who believe that this form of using power is going to be the most efficient in widely distributed use in the near future. All are familiar with the simple cell batteries, which are of almost universal use. The storage battery is nothing more than a receptacle where electric power can be placed for use on demand, like filling a tank with water. At this writing the storage has a very wide development, the most notable of which is that it can equate the power developed in the operation of electrical railways. Formerly there was a tremendous loss in operating these roads, because there was no way of saving the unused power. The storage battery came to the relief of engineers and financiers, with the result that power not absolutely employed in the transmission of cars is returned to the central power plant and "stored" in cells which are tapped at will. The greater advantage is that during the active hours of the day it is possible to fill the storage tanks, so that some of the steam engines may be idle for a portion of the night, while the stored power gives all the necessary motive force.

It is believed by many electrical engineers that along this line the greatest developments of the future are to come. While at this writing the exact nature of electricity is unknown, there is an increasing knowledge of its functions and

potentialities, so that it is hoped that the present generation will see stored electricity much cheaper in every respect. The average person is perhaps more familiar with the operations of the electric storage battery in the "electric" automobile than in anything else, though this is really a minor development. The principle is simply the same as filling a gas tank or water barrel, which must be renewed as often as the supply is exhausted. The hope of the modern electrical engineer is that some new methods will be developed by which it will be possible to create electrical currents more cheaply, distribute them more economically, and store them more effectively and in a smaller space.

The scientific man of 1870 was much more confident in many respects than his compeer thirty-five years later. There had been developed certain theories as to the cosmogony of the universe and of its various details which seemed for the moment to satisfy known conditions. It was the fate of the early years of the twentieth century rudely to shatter many of the beliefs which had been held so firmly. There is in this day absolutely nothing known as to the origin of the law of gravitation or of its reason. Only the fact is known, and previously advanced theories have been cast aside as useless. There are many of the most expert students of physics who believe that when the origin and nature of electricity are fully understood there may be found some relation to the great problems of the universe which are still mystifying scientific men. There is suggested a possibility that radium emanations may have some relations to the discussed subject. As these words are written, there seems to be nothing that is definitely known, but there is a constant addition to the number of discoveries and inventions which seem to increase knowledge.

The electric motor is the best known and one of the most useful of modern inventions. One need only go into one of the large factories of the country and compare conditions with those of thirty years ago to see how great the progress has been. With steam power transmission the use

of the pulley and belt was paramount. It was, a century ago, a marvel of ingenuity that power could be transferred from a single steam engine to so many different parts of a building, but an immense amount of expense was involved, and the loss of power in various transmissions by pulley was enormous. In addition it was a matter of danger to have so many belts whirling, and the room occupied was generally important. In the later day, manufactory power is directly applied to machinery through electric wires to a motor attached to the driving shafts of each individual machine; so that there is a saving in space and coal, as well as a safer and more comfortable condition for the mechanic. In many of the very largest manufacturing establishments of the country there is scarcely any evidence of the source from which the motive power of the machinery is derived. The economies resulting from this use of electricity have not only made commodities cheaper to the public, but have increased profits to the manufacturers. In the last ten years there have been many developments and inventions which have reduced the cost of the electrical units of light, heat, and power, while their use is constantly increasing.

The employment of electricity for heating is not widespread. It is confined largely to electrically driven vehicles of various kinds. Compared with most methods of heating it is expensive, and is used only where it is a matter of convenience rather than of economy.

Only the more important uses of electricity have so far been mentioned. A simple enumeration of them all would fill a volume. The use of this power is not only extending everywhere in commercial and transportation circles, but is more and more entering the home, where it is increasing its activities. The sewing machine, unknown to the youth of many persons still living, is furnished with power by connection with an electric light wire. In some homes electricity is used for heating and cooking. It is also employed in operating elevators, especially in small hotels or in homes

where cheap service is desirable. It is every year more and more permeating the life of the American citizen, and in larger degree becoming his servant.

In the early years of the twentieth century earnest study is being made of electricity in the hope of discovering more elementally its nature. While it cannot be said that results are as yet definite, there are many phenomena discovered which seem to throw new light on the problem, and which have been of use in formulating working hypotheses. While many things have occurred to cast doubt on previous theories of electrical origin, it can be said that there never was a time when so much study was being devoted to the most elemental considerations as now, nor when there seemed to be so much hope of accomplishing some good.

The exposition at Buffalo in 1901 was looked upon as the climax in demonstration of what had been accomplished. And in many respects there never had been a more interesting or spectacular display. It seemed as if more was done by the power from Niagara, a score of miles away, than by all the fabled alchemists of the Middle Ages or by the legendary heroes of mythology. The exposition was small as compared with the three major ones of American history, and yet there were many who were more impressed by the beauty of that at Buffalo than by all the rest. Columbia was wearing her jewels and seemed resplendent. At that time it was commonly said that the nineteenth century had practically exhausted the possibilities in discovery and invention, but in the five years following some of the most important of all discoveries were made. Wireless telegraphy reached a commercial development, while the study of radium led to almost a downfall of many theories of science which had long been considered as established. The theory that each molecule was composed of a few atoms which were the very last finality in matter was for half a century considered a working basis in chemistry, physics, and astrophysics. A study of radium utterly exploded any such idea. While radium was not discovered by an American, it

evoked an immense amount of interest in the United States, and led to studies and experiments which have been of the first importance. The new philosophy of physics is being developed in America.

In summing up the history of electricity in the United States it appears that in no other country is it so widely used or for so many purposes, and in none does the future seem to open so many avenues of extension. The population of the United States is, outside of the large cities, rather sparsely distributed compared with the principal nations of Europe, and in extending facilities of various sorts to individuals and communities electricity is in a thousand ways becoming increasingly utilized in everyday affairs. The inventions of Nicola Tesla, an American by adoption, are of the first importance, but the most valuable antedate his arrival in America.



CHAPTER XXIII

PROGRESS IN EDUCATION

THE people of the United States are wont to claim a greater amount of progress in the direction of complete education than statistics verify. It is true that in the United States the belief in and the practice of popular education at public expense received early development and practice, but many conditions have prevented the realization of the intent of the statutes in the various commonwealths. Theoretically, every child in the United States is educated during a series of years,—usually from the sixth to the eighteenth year,—but practically there is a great deal of illiteracy remaining.

No nation has been so lavish in its expenditures for education, and—looking for the moment on the confederation of States as an empire—no such aggregation of States has been so generous. In the days succeeding the adoption of the Constitution, progress was beset by many difficulties. Most of the States had some plan for education, but practically the most valuable was secured at the expense of the parent. Yet in that early day statesmen like Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Hamilton, and Jay were greatly interested in establishing a system which would virtually, if not actually, compel education. Such an idea seemed entirely too advanced for that day. With the development of the West and the gift of lands by States or the nation to the new commonwealths, it was in most cases required that there should be some provision for State education. In many of

the Western States, lands in quantity were specifically given for universities, sometimes under the guise of "agricultural colleges." In a number of States it was provided that one square mile in every thirty-six (constituting a township) should be set aside for educational purposes, and in a few instances two such "sections" were given.

In the aggregate, many millions of acres were given for educational purposes. It was inevitable that many of these lands should be sold in an early day for a fraction of what they would have brought in later years, but the stimulus was probably as great and the advantage as important under existing circumstances as if higher prices had been awaited. While the theory of public education for the masses developed in the Eastern States and was put into general practice, it was under difficulties that lasted for an average of fifty years before it was made compulsory—in some instances almost a century. Yet all the time there was a constant growth of sentiment and action in favor of education of the masses.

New England took the lead in this matter, and for many reasons. It has been said that New England raised men and women to the highest standard simply because the soil was poor and there was nothing else but intellectual pursuits to which attention could be diverted. Yet it was long before popular compulsory education was adopted even in that section. In some States, leading men had the forethought to establish school funds, which have increased for more than a century, but these have not prevented the impost of taxes in various localities. In a former chapter it has been shown that Massachusetts has an enormous foreign-born population, and the same is true of all the New England States in more or less degree. These people have come to the United States to secure employment, and are very largely without more than the merest rudiments of education, largely without any at all. In other parts of the country the conditions have been much the same. The German and Scandinavian elements have been the best

educated, because of systems established in their original homes. But the more recent influx of immigrants from Italy, Hungary, and Russia has presented an entirely different proposition.

It has been estimated by some students of sociology that if there had been a proviso in America that every immigrant should be able to read and write, even elementally, in his own language, more than three-fourths of the arrivals in the twentieth century would have been ineligible to admission. We have already seen that in the fiscal year of 1905 more than a million immigrants arrived. Most of these were ignorant and many were vicious. It is this constant injection of a great body of illiterates into the population of the United States which makes its showing in education worse than it really deserves.

The problem has not been handled in all portions of the United States with equal foresight or intelligence. In that section which is commonly called the North there has been much more attention paid to education than in the South. Taking the North as a whole, it can be said that the portion west of the Alleghanies has in many respects outstripped that east of those mountains. In a discussion of this subject one cannot rely absolutely on census statistics, since they are apt to be misleading. In the Eastern States there were fewer resources than in those of the West, consequently the great stimulus to education was given by the parents, who made sacrifices for the benefit of the children, while in the West the whole subject was considered largely one of public expense.

It is much to be regretted that in the South education lagged so far behind the ideals and practices of even the least progressive of the Northern States. The reasons are not far to seek. The social conditions were unusual and the results corresponded. The education of negroes was in the South everywhere discouraged, and to a large extent prohibited by law. It was a crime in some States to teach a negro even to read and write, but the law was in many

cases evaded, especially in the homes of most of the opulent, in which it was often considered desirable to have more intelligent servants than in the fields. The laws, as a rule, were unnecessary, because there was little stimulus among the negroes in the direction of education, even if there had been the opportunity. At the close of the Civil War the negroes were practically illiterate, the few notable exceptions only proving the rule. In a section where education was considered a crime punishable with great severity, it is easy to imagine that there was practically none. The rule was not absolute, since there were many who had managed to pick up a little knowledge and could read and write in an elementary manner. The negroes were a very considerable fraction of the population of the South, but they were by no means the sole illiterate portion of the communities in which they lived.

One of the worst phases of slavery was that it established so many social divisions, and injured the whites more than the blacks, who were at least much better off than when in the heart of Africa. The result was that there was transferred to the United States some element of the feudal system, by which various strata of society were created. The peasant class of the South before the War was in large measure dependent on the good will of the lord of the adjoining manor. Slavery was profitable only where there was a large plantation. The ownership of merely house servants was a concession to social conditions, and usually a matter of expense. The non-slaveholders, for the greater part, were small landholders, who managed to make a living, but were not ambitious of wealth. These lived in comparative comfort, and were in a sense the dependents of the great planters.

While among the educated people of the South there was a high appreciation of literature, learning was not held in such high estimation as elsewhere. The school statistics for 1860 are very imperfect, and in many respects misleading. It is often difficult to discover whether the figures given are those

of the children of school age, the actual enrollment, or the average attendance. In the North, the twenty per cent of the population representing children of school age had fairly good facilities, and, though in few States were there compulsory education laws, illiteracy was comparatively uncommon. The public schools taught principally the rudiments, but in all cities and in many of the larger towns there were high schools supported by the public, and these rapidly developed in number, supplying that more extended education which had been formerly received at private academies. It was not until after the Civil War that very general attention was paid to the teaching of Pestalozzi, Froebel, or other European reformers in the world of education. The kindergarten was practically unknown, and the pupils were given set tasks in textbooks; proficiency in recitation depended largely upon memory. Thirty years ago the modern ideas of education began to make progress. The effort was to relieve the pupil from too great a stress on the memory and to develop the inner consciousness of the child along scientific lines. This called for a higher grade of teachers in the public schools and resulted in special instruction in pedagogy, which at the present time has become widespread.

The statistics for the present day are much more complete and reliable. In the year 1902 there were enrolled in all the public and private schools of the country over eighteen million persons, of whom less than two million were in the private schools. Of the total, over fifteen million were in the public primary or grammar schools, almost six hundred thousand in the secondary schools, one hundred and twenty thousand in the universities and colleges, and the rest in evening schools, professional institutions, and the like. In the appendix to this volume appear further statistics, which show a gratifying increase.

The latest available statistics on education require some explanation. In some States every child of school age is enrolled and a sum is charged against it for educational purposes, and all are technically supposed to be in attendance.

It is not possible to give absolutely the number of those who attend, or the length of time at school. In the Southern States, outside the cities, the average is less than five months. In most of the Northern States it is at least seven months. The average daily attendance in the public schools is given as 11,318,256, out of an enrollment exceeding 16,000,000, and the number of teachers as 455,242.

Compulsory education has recently been adopted in most of the Northern States, though in not all of them is the law well executed. The great demand for child labor has made it difficult to carry out all the intentions of reformers, especially in the South. The expense of education is high, and constantly growing, but varies greatly even in the States of the North. In the older States, like Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, the cost for each pupil in the public schools is about thirty dollars a year for current expenses. In few instances does the published cost take into consideration interest on the cost of erecting buildings and providing apparatus. In some of the Southern States the annual expenditure is but a few dollars, and in some the average term of school does not exceed five months. In the North most of the cost of education is raised by local taxation. In many of the Southern States it is almost entirely provided by the State government. Pennsylvania, aside from large gifts to collegiate and normal institutions, gives five million five hundred thousand dollars each year to the common schools in aid of local taxation. Other States do the same, but this largess is the greatest.

A perusal of the statistics given in the appendix shows how rapid has been the development in education in the last few years, and especially in the North, where one hundred and eighty million dollars is expended, the total for the whole country being two hundred and twenty-six million dollars.

The United States is notable for the number and rich endowment of its colleges and universities. There are over six hundred and fifty institutions of all kinds which are classed under the general name of college, though many

of these are more properly designated as academies, and some are merely technical schools. As there is no law or custom which gives these institutions academic rank, it is difficult to give statistics for the whole. The exact number cannot be given because of the various standards represented. Of professional schools there are 153 in theology, with 7,392 students; 95 in law, with 14,302 students; in medicine 122 "regular," with 24,694 students, and 19 homeopathic, with 1,289 students; in dentistry 54, with 7,325 students; in pharmacy 63, with 4,457 students; and 11 veterinary schools, with 795 students. Of these institutions about one hundred and forty admit women only, one hundred and fifty are for men only, and the rest admit both sexes. West of the Alleghanies coeducation of the races is almost without exception. In the East and South it is rare. The property of these institutions in 1904 is valued at about four hundred and fifty million dollars, of which less than two hundred million is endowment. It is estimated that the endowments pay about one-half of the total cost, tuition fees and donations supplying the remainder. Of the one hundred and twenty thousand pupils enrolled in these institutions a very large proportion is in preparatory courses. The graduates in liberal arts and in professional schools are about twelve thousand annually, although these do not include many from institutions which give degrees in science and literature, but are below the four years standard of study in the arts and sciences. There are many colleges which give the degree of bachelor of arts to students who could with difficulty enter the freshman year in some of the larger universities.

Originally almost all the institutions of learning in the country, outside those supplied by public funds, were denominational, and many of them were originally established to educate clergy for the various religious sects. In late years the denominational quality of most of them is purely nominal, except in theological seminaries and a few others. Most of them are open to all without regard to religious

affiliations. The establishment of State universities within the last fifty years has given a new trend to the higher education. The origin of some of these State universities was a grant of public lands by Congress in an attempt to equalize the blessings growing out of the rapid purchase of the public domain by settlers. Many States were given grants direct under the guise of "agricultural advancement," and others were allowed to take "scrip," which permitted location and sale of lands in any part of the unoccupied public domain. The Universities of Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and others are the direct result of this largess, though some of the States were more prodigal in their disposition of the lands. In nearly every State west of the Alleghanies and north of the Ohio there is a university where not only the arts and sciences but some of the professions are taught to all comers without personal expense for tuition. The first of these to achieve high distinction was that of Michigan, located at Ann Arbor. Here there was allowed for the first time in the United States intellectual freedom and opportunity comparable with that in Germany. While in 1865 there was already a liberalizing tendency in most of the college institutions, it was more manifest in the University of Michigan, because it had no traditions to follow and looked solely to the development of the individual in accordance with personal predilections. This caused much comment, not all of which was of a favorable kind. The faculty was a body of unusually gifted men, but there was at that time a very widespread feeling among the more educated and cultured of the country that the institution was godless and destined to sow the seeds of infidelity. It was out of his experiences as a professor, gained at Ann Arbor, as well as a student in Germany, that Andrew D. White gave to Cornell University—founded and largely endowed by a Quaker—those tendencies which have been of so much importance to the country.

While many of the State universities have excellent corps of professors and are very largely attended, it cannot be said

that they have so far, and for obvious reasons, exercised an influence on the intellectual life of the country equal to that of the private institutions. There has been a great change in the last forty years in the whole trend of educational tendencies. It is no longer required that every student follow a fixed and prescribed course of study along rigid lines. The tendency to allow the pupil to elect those studies which he will pursue has been followed in the Eastern section of the United States to a degree that puts a very heavy burden upon the student. Instead of being the intellectual creature of his professors, as was so largely the case in former times, the university student now is allowed a latitude which has affected very seriously the solidarity of class feeling. It is no longer supposed that because a man graduated in any particular year at any one of a dozen large universities, he was personally acquainted with more than a fourth of those who took degrees at the same time. The tendency is to make the student an absolute entity and to hold him responsible simply for accomplishing certain standards that have been set up. This is more the case in the East than in the West, but the practice is growing. The personal contact with teachers and fellow students is exercising less influence.

The number attending colleges and universities grows rapidly every year. In the memory of this generation there was not an institution where there were one thousand students in any college, perhaps not in any university, including all the professional schools. This was because distance was such an important factor in higher education, and philanthropists preferred to assist in the establishment of many institutions rather than in the increase of the endowment of a few. It was the easier to make a college in generations past because of the fact that the clergy were so willing and able to assist in any movement in this direction. Up to 1880, the professors in American colleges were very largely drawn from the ranks of the clergy, not only because of their love for the work of teaching, but because there was a feeling

which had widespread official expression that it was the mission of Christian ministers to "teach all nations," and some distinguished members of the clergy and hierarchy considered that they had a religious monopoly of the matter. This idea has long passed away, and is a mere remnant of the ages when all the learning and much of the intelligence of the world survived in the monasteries, where they kept the lamp burning through the long, dark ages and restored it to the public when the time was ripe.

The very fact that there are so many colleges and alleged universities in the country, all of which are absolutely independent of each other, and most of which are independent of any legal or constitutional supervision except in the broadest sense, makes it impossible to give a survey that is at all satisfactory from any scientific point of view. There are only a few institutions of learning in the United States which belong to the colonial period. Harvard, Yale, Pennsylvania, William and Mary, Princeton, and Columbia well-nigh exhaust the list of those which have acquired any prominence, though there are some others. The first half of the nineteenth century developed many others, though few of them achieved high distinction. Oberlin College, in Ohio, was the first institution in the United States which opened its doors to both sexes in all respects, and it was born of a revolution against the teachings and administration of a theological school in Cincinnati. The growth of the coeducational idea was rapid in the West. In the East it was received with suspicion. In most of the larger universities the pressure of sentiment provided accommodations for women, though usually under separate administration. Bryn Mawr (Pennsylvania) College, of which Miss M. Carey Thomas is president, is regarded as the premier woman's college of America. Vassar, Smith, and Wellesley also have very high rank.

The development of education in the United States has been to a considerable extent the result of the moral ideas of a few earnest men who have labored long and sedulously

to increase knowledge, and, aside from State munificence already mentioned, to the extraordinary munificence of a small number of men of wealth, who have given without stint for the purpose. The Eastern colleges and universities were not as a general rule personal accomplishments, but rather the result of religious, moral, and intellectual sentiment leading to many small benefactions rather than to large endowments. Fifty years ago there was not a single university in the country that had an endowment equal to that of many of the present day which are unknown to the general public. The effort was not so much to broaden the intellectual sphere as to give all comers a good training along the lines which had seemed satisfactory for two centuries, though with some slight variations. Education in America owes much to the fortunes which were made during and just subsequent to the Civil War. Statistics for the period about 1865 are impossible to secure, but investigation shows that the money value of "plant" equipment and endowment in that day was probably not in excess of fifty million dollars, outside of the lands which the government had given the States. In forty years the financial increase has been nearly tenfold.

In the last twenty years the personal donations to colleges and universities have been very large. Although there had been many very large gifts previously to existing institutions, the most notable instance of personal endowment is that of Leland Stanford Junior University, founded by one of the builders of the Central Pacific Railway in memory of his son. This Californian university is in many respects unique, but in nothing more so than that its entire endowment of some thirty million dollars is from a single estate, with the exception of a few private gifts of equipment. Mrs. William R. Hearst, widow of a partner of Stanford, almost simultaneously gave to the University of California many millions, with the result that in proportion to population California is one of the best equipped States in the country in the matter of higher education.

Of collateral interest has been the development of the University of Chicago very largely through the benefactions of John D. Rockefeller, whose gifts of money to the university have been supplemented by those of other benefactors in equal amount. This institution is not so munificently endowed, but its equipment and attendance rival those of the largest institutions in the country, and, under the presidency of Dr. William R. Harper, the institution rose to international fame. Dr. Harper died early in 1906 at the age of forty-nine, after a career of almost unparalleled usefulness in higher education.

One of the most distinguished of American institutions is Johns Hopkins University, of Baltimore, founded and chiefly endowed by the man whose name it bears. It has not so large an endowment as some American institutions, nor is the attendance so large as in some others; but the standard is the highest. It is almost solely for post-graduate work, and the proportion of instructors to pupils exceeds that of any other institution in the United States. It has perhaps the greatest reputation in Europe for scholarship and achievement of any American institution of learning.

These represent probably the most important of the individual endowments of institutions, but they are small compared with the endowment of the whole number. Munificent endowments or gifts of buildings have been made to the various universities, and there are some smaller, relatively speaking, institutions which are due to the largess of a few persons and sometimes of a single individual, as in the case of Jacob Tome, of Maryland, who left a large fortune for the education of the youth of his own State.

It will be found that the greater part of the gifts have been made for buildings and equipment, while the demand for increased endowment to pay instructors is heavy and increasing. There are many persons who have taken delight in erecting buildings on a college campus to serve as monuments, but those who give money for endowment are

relatively growing fewer, if we may believe the complaints of men at the head of American colleges.

There are many educational organizations in the United States which are not didactic. Some of these are of much importance. The Peabody Fund was established by George Peabody in 1867-1869 for aid in education in the South. Of three million five hundred thousand dollars given, over one-half was in unavailable funds. The available funds are almost exhausted (1905), and the trust is soon to terminate.

The Slater Fund of one million dollars, increased one-half by good management, was founded in 1882 by John F. Slater, of Connecticut. The income is used for promoting education in the South.

The Southern Education Board is a corollary of the General Education Board, organized in 1902, which has an ethical purpose in extending the cause of education in the South. Through these instrumentalities much money is raised in the North and expended in the South. It is fair to state that, as much of the money coming from the four organizations mentioned is expended for education of colored persons, the sentiment of the South is not wholly favorable to the movements.

It is estimated that ninety-five per cent of all the property and endowments for higher education in the United States is the result of private donations, and that seventy-five per cent has been given since 1865.

In recent years there have been three notable contributions to the cause of education. Andrew Carnegie has given to a board of eminent trustees the sum of ten million dollars for the advancement of science and learning in every possible direction. The sum of half a million dollars annually derived from this gift is used not in any particular college, but is devoted to such purposes as the trustees think proper in any field of endeavor. It is the Carnegie Institution of Washington, which is not a college or a university. Its funds are dispensed wherever there seems to be an opportunity for developing the cause of science or humanity.

In addition to this Carnegie has made very large gifts to technical schools, and particularly to one in Pittsburg, which is just in process of development, and which it is expected will receive further sums from him.

Carnegie has also given ten million dollars for the purpose of establishing a fund to give college professors of undenominational institutions a pension after they have taught a certain number of years and are incapacitated for further work. John D. Rockefeller has given an equal sum for an almost similar purpose. As many institutions already have pension funds, it is evident that the way of the college professor is to be made more pleasant, but it is an unfortunate fact that the American teacher receives far less than the man in the other professions of equal responsibility, while social and financial obligations are laid upon him which are often beyond his ability to discharge.

During the last forty years the progress of education in the United States has been steady, rational, popular, and effective. In 1869-1870, the earliest date of trustworthy statistics, the total population of the country was 38,558,371, and the average daily attendance in the public schools was 4,077,347; in 1902-1903, the total population (excluding insular possessions) was 79,900,389, and the average daily attendance was 11,054,502. "The attendance," writes the United States Commissioner of Education, Hon. W. T. Harris, in his last report, "has increased in regularity during the past thirty years; that is to say, the number in average attendance has approximated more closely to the number enrolled. In 1869-1870 the average attendance was only 59.3 per cent, while the past year (1902-1903) it has been 69.2 per cent. The increase in average attendance and the increase in the length of the school term (in 1869-1870, 132.2 days; in 1902-1903, 147.2 days) is due to the growth of villages and cities. A continually growing quota of the population lives in large villages and cities, and holds its schools open for a larger number of days each year."

During this period (1869-1903) the number of persons of school age (5 to 18 years) has increased from 12,055,443 to 22,655,001. During this time school property has increased from the value of \$130,383,008 to \$643,903,228, and the total expenditure for the schools from \$63,396,666, annually, to \$251,637,865 annually; that is, from \$1.64 per capita of population to \$3.15. The total expenditure per pupil has increased from \$15.55 yearly to \$22.75. Of the entire number of pupils receiving education in the public and private schools, in 1902-1903, in elementary schools there were 16,511,024; in secondary schools, 776,635; in high schools, 251,819. In the universities, colleges, and technical schools (627 reported in 1902-1903) there were enrolled 124,130, of whom 31,736 were women.

Nearly fourteen million of the pupils in the elementary schools are in the first five grades; less than a million and a half are in the three remaining grades; the actual number in the last year of the high school course is about 74,000.

The distinguishing revision of higher education in the United States since 1865 has been "scientific" rather than "classical." Technical courses in science and the applied arts, and special technical schools have been the opportunity for training a large body of experts whose aggregate work, in the industrial world, emphasizes the claims of technical and industrial education to the considerate judgment of the American people.

It has long been the opinion of educators that some sort of technical instruction for youth should accompany elementary teaching. The very fact that so many children leave school at a tender age to enter upon some form of wage earning has developed in the large cities specialized schools, in which cooking, sewing, and elementary training in mechanical trades are taught. This form of instruction is only in its infancy; but modern educators think that it must be more highly developed, so that the parents will be content to allow children to go to school while they are perfecting themselves in the knowledge which will eventually aid in

earning a living. It is partly because the opportunities for employment are so many at the present time that less attention is paid to perfection in detail. It is certain that the time must come when the race for existence will be more intense, and when individual abilities will even more than now count decisively in the final determination of the result.

The time is coming and is well-nigh at hand when, with the enormous consuming power of the United States, the race will be to the best equipped, especially when less and less will be exported to other countries and when the most competent workmen will receive the highest rewards. When it becomes more difficult for Americans to secure a living, they will be compelled to make better preparation for the struggle, and the public schools must be administered so as most effectually to contribute to the kind of education most needed in America.

CHAPTER XXIV

SOCIAL FORCES

IN the forty years included within the scope of this volume the population of the United States has considerably more than doubled, while the wealth has increased fourfold. Averages of wealth based on these figures would mean little since no census returns or bureau estimates can take into consideration more than the aggregate returns. There have been two important financial depressions in the period, and many movements which cannot be collated in figures. For instance, it has not been possible to give in detail the movements of population and growth in wealth due to mineral discoveries. Montana and Arizona have become famous for their yield of copper within the period involved; and at the present writing, Alaska has become a noted source of gold, while Nevada is just giving unexpected indications of large mineral resources of many sorts.

The production of 34,000,000 tons of iron ore and 22,000,000 of pig iron and of 360,000,000 tons of coal in 1905 are not merely factors of commercial interest. All these have a much wider influence. Some statistics of mineral production will be found in the appendix. It is noteworthy, however, that there is a decided relation between the declining ratio of the population engaged in agriculture and the increased number in mining and manufacturing. Had there been no new sources of mineral wealth in the last forty years; had there been no new developments by

which manufacturing was increased and products cheapened even at an increased rate of wages, the condition of the United States at the present time must have become serious. These factors have changed in varying ratios, but every political economist asserts that, with occasional slight interruptions, the progress of the American people has been constant in practically every direction.

It is interesting to note some of the social changes and their causes. More farm produce is sent to market year after year. In truth, if the American farmer were to avail himself of all the potentialities at his command, it would seem as if the markets of the world would be glutted. While America still sends abroad each year enormous cargoes, it is notable that in proportion to the population the amount is decreasing. On the basis of present production per acre it has been estimated that another generation will see almost a cessation of the export of food stuff from the United States. This seems to be in accord with the Malthusian doctrine that the population increases in a geometrical and food supplies in an arithmetical ratio. This is not entirely the case, nor, if we may believe all that scientific agriculturists tell us, need it be so at all in the near future. Intensive agriculture is developing as an exact science, though the number of those who follow the best methods is comparatively small. There seems to be no reason to doubt that the soil of the United States, properly tilled, can support half a billion people.

It is certain that with the growth of intelligence and the increase in labor-saving machinery, the American people will have in the future many problems of much more moment than those of the present. With apparently inexhaustible supplies of coal, iron ore, and copper, with building stone and brick clay abundant, the problem of material resources is not likely to affect generations in the near future. Indeed, the problem of the necessities of life does not promise to be one of the great problems of the next century. One eminent American scientist thinks that at the end of that period the world will depend on China for its coal and iron. If by

that time there has been as great a development in transportation as in the last century, the problem will have been already solved.

Forty years ago the American people were housed in buildings of wood. At present more substantial materials are employed, both because of the lack of lumber and because of the growing desire to have permanent structures. In the same period has grown up a notable demand for the conveniences of life, even in the country. Forty years ago the average city house was generally unsanitary. Provision for sewerage was by no means the rule, water was not always introduced into the houses, and lighting was to a great extent either by candle or kerosene lamp; or, when gas was used, very frequently under conditions favorable neither to eyesight nor sanitation. In these days the most modest home of the mechanic is constructed, generally by requirement of law, and at least by reason of financial considerations, with conveniences that are relatively excellent. In every large city there are tenement districts which are largely populated by foreigners, and these districts are held up as a constant reproach to society. The more favorable view is that these worst districts are inhabited for a relatively brief space of time, then the population moves on to better and still better homes, and a new crop of foreigners or the ever present derelicts take their places.

City life is more expensive than it was forty years ago, but, save in expense, it is far better. The advantages are greater, the luxuries are perhaps no more expensive, while the comforts are obtainable by those whose parents had found them beyond their reach.

A notable feature of the era under consideration is the growth of activities by women outside what was formerly denominated their "sphere." The census statistics show that, proportionately, female wage earners have increased more than male. This is especially true in the large cities, where there are so many avenues for wage earners in factories, shops, offices, and even in the professions. In

medicine, nursing and allied professions, women have been highly successful, and the number of those thus engaged is increasing rapidly. As teachers of schools women have almost monopolized all below the secondary grade.

Of much importance is the increase of purely woman's clubs in all social centres. Most of these have some definite object to advance, as distinguished from the merely social character of the greater number of the clubs for men. Movements started by women have brought about important advancement in social conditions. Much of the results in the direction of shorter hours and more sanitary conditions for women in factories and shops is due to women's clubs, to which also may be credited, in a large degree, the establishing of juvenile courts, and the providing of better conditions in the public schools; while there are few private charitable and eleemosynary institutions in the United States which do not owe their origin and support largely to women. Although in statistical tables philanthropy is largely credited to men, it is well known that women are, as a rule, its mainsprings. While the important gifts to charity aggregate about one hundred and fifty million dollars annually, this represents only a small portion of the national contribution to ecclesiastical, missionary, hospital, and other work, which is largely dominated by women.

A certain amount of suffering and degradation is inherent in life in cities, though in some phases it is no worse than in the country. In the cities, degradation is more apparent, because the multitude is more closely confined in narrow quarters. Sociologists agree that it is only the influx of foreigners which has made the condition of the very poor in the great cities of America worse in most respects than ever before, though much better than the foreigner had experienced in his old home. It is encouraging to notice that in the last ten years there has been a progressively hopeful tone in the reports of those who have made the tenement districts of the cities or the poor elsewhere their especial study.

Compared with this only relatively encouraging picture, that afforded by the farmer is interesting in the extreme. In the last ten years the agriculturist has been extraordinarily prosperous, without any present prospect of a decline. The crops of 1905 were the largest, in the history of the United States, and were greater in value than those produced by any single nation in modern times. The conditions which have existed for some years have resulted in a distinct change in the attitude toward their occupation of the young men raised on the farm. From 1875 to 1890, it was the usual practice for the farmer's boys to seek the city to get employment at what seemed high wages. It was a rather common saying that the bright boys went to the towns and the dullards stayed at home to run the farm because they were fitted for nothing else.

The movement away from the farm, which was notable after the panic of 1873, was largely due to the fact that rural life presented so few attractions, especially when there were mortgages to be cleared off and interest payments to be met. Many thousands of those who went to the populous centres achieved fortune,—perhaps more in proportion than the city born,—but countless thousands were destined to lives of poverty. In an age when the farm was distant from any centre of culture, when mails were infrequent and the weekly newspaper was the principal source of communication with the outside world, life on a farm was monotonous, and especially to the women. In the last fifteen years, three developments have to a great extent changed farm life and made it so attractive that the movement to the city is proportionately less than ever before.

The trolley is rapidly extending, and in a few decades is destined to make communication easy between towns and cities and the great mass of farmers of the United States. This is important from a social point of view, as the consequent development of convenient markets increases the farmer's income and especially that of the women of his household, who not only have a better outlet for the things

on the farm considered their perquisites, but it relieves the monotony of farm life by making visits to town easy.

In the last few years every traveller has noted that the suburban trolleys are patronized by the wives and daughters of farmers. The sale of pianos in the rural districts of the United States has reached extraordinary proportions, and is accounted for by manufacturers largely because in this day the farmer's daughter may conveniently go to town and take music lessons. She can also get books from the free library, attend the theatre or make a social call, and return home in an afternoon, an outing which formerly meant to the farmer the loss of the use of a team of horses for a whole day.

The second factor is that of the rural telephone, which is growing so fast that it is difficult to keep up with the statistics. As all normal human beings are social by instinct, the desire to talk with one's neighbors, coupled with the cheapness of communication, has led to the wide and rapid extension of these country lines; but no statistics can express the convenience, the comfort, and the luxury which they give to those who formerly were confined within the narrow limits of country life.

The third factor is the free rural delivery of the mails, which is expanding so that in a decade nine-tenths of the families of the country will be served with a daily mail. To those who are not accustomed to this privilege, it is hard to appreciate its blessings. When these three factors have reached another decade of development, there is no doubt that country life will have almost every advantage of the city and many which the latter cannot hope to possess.

These are a few of the important items entering into the social development of the country. Of collateral interest is the constantly increasing use of electric light and power along the lines of the trolley companies, and the development of the water supply in country districts so as to give water not only to families and to stock, but to permit irrigation. In the Far West irrigation has become a dominant question. Congress has set aside the proceeds from all

land sales in the arid districts, in order to construct dams and sluiceways to irrigate the soil. Most of the lands now in the market are in these districts, but the whole is so vast that it is estimated that when all projected improvements are completed a population can be supported equal to that of the whole United States at the present time. Some engineering projects of vast scope are already being carried out, and more are to follow. Already more than two million persons live on soil that is productive solely through irrigation.

The religious development of the North has been much more varied than that of the South, where a few denominations enroll the great majority of the population. In 1865, the religious sentiment of the country was largely orthodox. It was not until after the Civil War that the doctrines of evolution and the higher criticism of the Bible were of much import to this country. In succeeding years a great deal of interest was aroused in both these questions, and the adherence was rapid until, in Protestant churches at least, it became general, though hardly radical among the educated classes.

The last forty years has seen the rise or development of many religious or quasi-religious denominations, many of which are entirely indigenous. The rise of the Mormons belongs to the early period of the history of the nineteenth century; the agitation against them is principally a record of the last forty years. The Mormons were expelled from various parts of the country and sought a haven in Utah, which in 1845 was almost isolated. The development of the gold fields of California brought the Mormons in touch with civilization once more. After the Civil War, the agitation against polygamy grew apace until the passage of the so-called Edmunds Act of 1882 officially put an end to the leading phase of Mormonism. When Utah was admitted as a State in 1896, it was made a condition precedent that polygamy be forever prohibited. In the early years of the twentieth century it was admitted by leading officials of the Mormon Church that polygamous practices were

continued by those who had lived in such relations before 1896. It was stated that the Church had ordered them suspended as against all others.

Christian Science has had in twenty-five years a wide development. The Rev. Mary G. Baker Eddy claims to be the founder of the sect, and to base her tenets solely on a "key" to the Holy Scriptures which she has discovered. The leading article of faith is that there is no such thing as matter and that disease is only a figment of the imagination. The sect has grown largely among persons of wealth, as well as among those of modest circumstances and includes people of education and refinement.

A totally different movement is that of the Salvation Army, and its outgrowth the Volunteers of America. The Salvation Army was organized in Great Britain, but has been of wide extension and much influence in North America. In every city and many of the towns this somewhat spectacular, but ever earnest, movement is prominent in the work of doing good in all directions, but especially among the "submerged tenth." The "Volunteers" devote their energies to the same labor, and the practical charity of the two organizations has done much to relieve distress in the large cities.

Other religious movements, such as the Zionists, of Chicago, and the Holy Ghosters, of Maine, are comparatively modern and seem to have succeeded to those curious phases of quasi-religious and social life which in the early part of the nineteenth century produced the various socialist centres, the Shakers and the Spiritualists.

Of interest also were movements in the eighties, which died away quickly, when Theosophy, or Esoteric Buddhism, as expounded by Madame Blavatsky, gained a considerable foothold in the country. More primitive Buddhism had some vogue a few years later, but it was transitory. The American people have been prone to run after intellectual or alleged spiritual innovations, but have generally soon tired of them.

Perhaps one of the most important results of Christian endeavor has been in improving the status of the aborigines. The Indian Rights Association and allied organizations growing out of Christian effort have resulted in placing a majority of the Indians on lands of their own and providing eventually a domicile for all.

In the appendix will be found statistics of churches, but these give no idea of the growth of charitable sentiments during the last forty years. Whereas, there was at one time a very decided antipathy between the Protestant and the Roman Catholic church, and in some sections a feeling akin to hostility between some Protestant sects, such conditions no longer prevail, except in slight degree and only in isolated communities. The tendency has been to hold less and less strictly to former creeds and dogmas and more to a general fraternal feeling among all branches of the Christian church.

The growth of charitable institutions of all kinds has been notable. The number of hospitals, of homes for the unfortunate, and of charitable institutions of all sorts has increased vastly, particularly those that are undenominational, and the benefactions in their favor have been very large and are constantly increasing. There is scarcely a will made by a man even moderately well off which does not in some way add to the wealth of these many institutions. A prominent feature has been the tendency of sociologists to make practical studies of the poor and unfortunate in their own homes by living among them and establishing "settlements" where in their midst their wants can be studied at close range. There is a constantly growing tendency to make charity practical and based on intimate knowledge rather than to give indefinitely and at long range. The number of institutions of helpfulness in every direction is growing largely through various voluntary organizations generally connected with some religious society, which have for their purpose the upbuilding of the poor and unfortunate. No statistics of this sort of work are procurable, but the increase of workers, of money

expended (the benefactions of the rich average one hundred million dollars a year), and of good accomplished is noticeable to all who have any interest in the subject. Most of these earnest workers in religious, ethical, and sociological fields insist that there is not only an actual but a relative increase in charitable effort in the United States and that the results are proportionate.

With the great increase of population and the better means of communication, the centripetal tendencies of social forces are apparent in many ways. Innumerable organizations which have some social object exist. In forty years many such have been developed which have for their object the perpetuation of patriotic sentiment. Forty years ago the Society of the Cincinnati was almost the only one and it was well-nigh moribund. Since the Civil War there have been many organizations North and South in which the memories of that contest are preserved and to which both men and women belong. Societies have grown up dealing with events of the Revolutionary period, subsequent to it, or even anterior, in which descent from an ancestor who participated therein is required for admission. Most of these are purely social organizations, though it is charged that some of them have been turned to promote political and financial interests.

Another large and growing class of organizations is characterized by fraternal association. In a large proportion of the organizations of this class the provision of financial benefits is the leading object. These benefit societies are sustained by those who cannot afford the expense of ordinary life insurance companies. The expense is light and the benefits great. Some have developed into prominent insurance organizations, and others have failed. It has been estimated that there are several million persons belonging to such beneficial orders. The aggregate premium investment in these companies in 1902 was over \$72,000,000, and the outstanding protection to members amounted to over \$6,000,000,000. The premiums invested with the

regular life insurance companies, including those issuing industrial policies, during the same year amounted to more than \$330,000,000, and those with special associations, such as assessment, stipulated premium, and sick benefit associations, to over \$12,000,000, the protection to the insured being, respectively, nearly \$10,000,000,000 and \$1,250,000,000. Other important agencies in promoting the welfare of the people are the savings banks and building and loan associations. In 1853 the statistics show that there were 159 savings banks, having 365,638 depositors and holding about \$73,000,000 of deposits. In 1904, the number of such banks had increased to 1,157, the depositors to over 7,300,000, and the deposits to more than \$3,000,000,000.

The building and loan associations date from 1831, when some mill workers in Philadelphia, who were familiar with the workings of building societies in Great Britain, organized the first association. The original scope of such associations was purely local and coöperative, and the system developed very gradually till 1878, after which it made rapid strides. The earliest definite statistics are for 1893, by which time the assets of these associations aggregated nearly \$530,000,000, held by 5,598 local and 240 national associations. About 1897 the number and business of these institutions reached the high-water mark, after which special causes led to a slight diminution and, at this writing, most of the national associations, which were of later development and in management differed materially from the local associations, have failed or gone into liquidation. The aggregate assets in 1903 were nearly \$600,000,000, and the number of associations was 5,350. In nineteen States the average investment per capita of population is \$10.48. New Jersey leads with \$27.14, and Pennsylvania shows \$25.38.

The laws for the regulation of these associations vary in different States, but in general they have provided due safeguards. The success of the local institutions has been remarkable, and among coöperative movements they are perhaps the only organizations that have been uniformly successful.

from their start. In the official report of the Bureau of Labor it is stated that during their existence the aggregate losses of all building associations are less than \$500,000, which is not \$100 for each institution. Against this there is a record of 314,755 homes and 28,459 other buildings acquired, chiefly by the working classes, which average nearly seventy per cent of the shareholders in the local associations. The successful management of the vast majority of these associations has been an object lesson of the highest value to the masses of the people. Thrift has been encouraged; the power of coöperation demonstrated; a conservative spirit promoted; self-respect and a sense of individual responsibility inculcated; and a knowledge of business affairs and their management disseminated. Vast as have been the financial benefits of these associations to their shareholders, probably the gain as a social force has been immeasurable.

Other organizations, such as the Grand Army of the Republic, Sons of the Revolution, etc., have a purely patriotic purpose. These have preserved many priceless relics of the historic past, have spent large sums on monuments and in purchasing buildings, and have been active in establishing the great national cemeteries which especially care for all who fell during the Civil War.

Mention has already been made of organizations among the farmers which have been of influence in the political as well as in the agricultural world. Among the laboring men more important and better disciplined organizations have arisen, until the question of organized labor is one of the most important in the twentieth century. There have been labor organizations in the country since colonial days, but at the end of the War there were very few which had much solidarity. The organizations of printers is one of the oldest in the country, and railway employés have had more or less perfect societies for some years. In some of the large industries, like cotton spinning and shoemaking, there have been organizations, but the growth of union labor was slow in this country for the first century under the

Constitution. Even where organized it was not always effective, and the demand that only union men be allowed to work in an industry or on any enterprise is comparatively recent, except in the few industries specified. Organized labor was a natural outgrowth of the corporation. The position of a corporation officer toward employés is different from that of the owner of a factory. The officer may resist demands of employés on grounds which an owner could not take. The story of the contests between employer and employed, or as it is sometimes put, between labor and capital, is a long one and is not entirely satisfactory reading. Errors on both sides have precipitated struggles which have frequently resulted in bloodshed and great loss of property and wages. In the last ten years there has been more conservatism on both sides, though many strikes and lockouts have occurred. The principle for which union labor has made its fight is that employers should deal with unions as organizations and with them exclusively. The original ground was that the unions contained the most expert workers, but that is less a contention now than the fact that the laborers understand that their strength is in the mass, and that the only way to bring pressure upon employers is by having under a single direction, so far as possible, all men of a craft.

Up to about 1880 almost all the labor unions were independent of one another. Efforts at federation had been feeble and not often successful. If in the great railway strike of 1877, the railway force of the country had been thoroughly organized, the course of events would have been somewhat different. There might have been less violence and more pressure of a different sort. As a fact, there was no such organization, and the movement was one of general fraternal feeling rather than of organization.

The first important effort toward federation was made by the Knights of Labor, which grew from a small organization in Philadelphia to a federation of unions, which claimed a membership approaching a million men and women. It grew

so fast that it lacked solidarity. Terence V. Powderly was at its head during the most prosperous years of the organization. He was a conservative man, all things considered, but it was impossible for him to control an organization so loosely knit, and which, owing to internal dissensions and failures in some strikes, declined as rapidly as it rose. Many labor leaders and sociologists felt that such an organization must be one of slow growth, and that there must be a more efficient organization if success were to be achieved.

The American Federation of Labor, which succeeded in a sense to the Knights of Labor, is a more closely knit and better managed society. It claims a membership of two million persons, which is probably about half of the so-called union labor of the country, and two-thirds of that which is effectively organized. There are other societies which are beneficial and to an extent protective. It is impossible to secure complete data on this subject, since the aims of the various organizations are so different that it is at times impossible to discriminate between the organizations which are protective and those which are simply beneficial. During the last ten years serious labor troubles have come in the mining regions and among the workers on buildings. Millions have been lost in these controversies, and at this writing there is no settlement of the great problem. At the opening of the year 1906 one great question was affecting more or less all the employers and employed, that of the open or closed shop. The closed shop is one in which union labor alone may be employed. The open shop is one in which both union and non-union men may work. Further there is the non-union shop in which no organized labor is knowingly employed.

The labor question has been the study of some of the most eminent men in all walks of life. An effort has been in progress for some years to bring about a better understanding by a combination of employers, employed, and sociologists in an organization known as the Civic Federation. This contains as members some of the most eminent

men in various interests. For a time the president was Marcus A. Hanna, who declared that he would rather be able to bring about a settlement of the vexed questions involved than be president of the United States. The present president is August Belmont, one of the richest men in the country and a noted corporation officer. Other members include wealthy men with vast corporation interests, laboring men, union organization men, and clergymen, civic workers, and college professors. The position of this association toward the labor world is somewhat that of the Hague Tribunal toward the nations. Both are based on sound ethical foundations, but neither has been able to accomplish a great deal other than to extend the propaganda of peace through arbitration.

During the last five years a number of important books have been published bearing on the situation, but it is recognized by all who are prominent in the controversy that the question of union labor is unsettled and probably at this writing is in its most critical stage. Writers, representing every phase of the subject, agree that the modern tendency is toward concentration in every field of human activity. The corporation manager cannot oppose labor organization on principle. The laborer admits the growing tendency toward centralization of capital and asks only that the tendency be regulated. The remaining civic workers ask only for justice, and desire adjustment on an economic basis. That the organization of working men has achieved many desirable results is unquestioned. Without some opposing force the unscrupulous employer would have been able to secure more than his proportion of rewards. Even the well-disposed employers would have been compelled to meet the competition of the rival who ground down his employés, and this would have resulted in a deplorable condition of affairs. There is no doubt in the minds of eminent sociologists that a proper organization of laboring men is essential, not only to the well-being of the workman and the employer, but to society at large.

The question of the rights, duties, and privileges on each side of such a controversy is too intricate, too complicated, and too indeterminate to result in the formulation of any fixed rules at this time. The laws of the various States, as well as those of the Federal government, as a rule, are not antagonistic to union labor, but they forbid some exactions which have been made. President Roosevelt was obliged in 1905 to intervene and to prevent the discharge of an employé in the printing office of the United States who was interfered with simply because he was not in good standing with his union. It can be safely said that this question will be one of the most important in the coming years of the republic.

In 1879 appeared a small volume which was destined to have more direct influence on the thought of the United States than any work since *Uncle Tom's Cabin*,—*Progress and Poverty*, by Henry George, a California printer, born in Philadelphia. Primarily, it is a discussion of the principles of taxation of land, but in reality it is a new system of political economy. The author's premise is that land is limited and cannot of right be given in fee to any individual, that the great fortunes which are made by individual owners of land are ill gained because for the most part they represent an "unearned increment," due to the fact that society at large has increased the demand and the individual has no right to be the beneficiary in an increase of values toward which he has not contributed and cannot contribute anything. His idea is that land should belong to the State and should be leased, and that such lease moneys would cover the cost of government to an extent that poverty and monopolies would be abolished, that society would sink or rise to a more nearly common level of wealth and achievement.

At first the book was received with contempt or incredulity, but soon there arose a cult which favored his views in all particulars. The "Single Taxers" have never become numerous in the United States, and some of them are

extremists, who go beyond the teachings of Henry George. There are many others who, while dissenting from his more radical views, consider that he has established principles which ought to prevail. While they cannot agree to all that he claims, they are favorable to much of his philosophy. George was nominated for mayor of New York City in 1886, and was defeated in a three-cornered contest, although his vote was larger than his opponents had expected. About ten years later he was again nominated, but died on the eve of election. His propaganda regarding land has somewhat fallen away, but that he influenced the teachings of economics and sociology is apparent.

Turning to a social question of a different character, we would say that the drama in its present condition is less an intellectual force than a mere means of amusement. The period from 1860 to 1890 was the golden age of the American drama. There were few American plays of great merit. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *Rip Van Winkle* have had an enormous patronage, but they can scarcely be ranked as literature of the drama. In very recent years a number of American dramatists have shown much skill in constructing pleasing plays, those which are especially adapted to hold the interest of an audience. Augustus Thomas, William Gillette, John Luther Long, Clyde Fitch, and David Belasco have been highly successful, but most of the dramas produced by them have made mere entertainment or complex situations the chief element.

Many American actors of high rank established their fame largely upon the classic drama. Edwin Booth and Lawrence Barrett in Shakespearian rôles, William Warren, Joseph Jefferson, William J. Florence, and John Sleeper Clarke in comedy, were men of the highest professional standing. Madame Helena Modjeska, Miss Mary Anderson, Miss Ada Rehan, Mrs. John Gilbert, Mrs. John Drew, and Miss Clara Morris were among the most prominent women of the period. Most of these died or retired from the stage before the twentieth century. For the last ten years the drama,

as a business consideration, has been largely in the hands of a small body of men who own or control most of the theatres, many of the plays, and much of the scenery, and, as a result, employ most of those engaged in important dramatic work. This, in the opinion of many critics, has had a bad effect upon the development of the drama as well as the art of acting. The old-time dramatic school, hard work in various rôles, under many managers and under heterogeneous conditions, resulted in a more symmetrical development of the actor and of the best that was in him. In the larger cities the classic dramas are seldom produced. In ten years the number of theatres in the country was almost doubled, but most of them are devoted to comedy, melodrama, and musical extravaganzas.

Music in the last forty years has made remarkable progress. At the close of the Civil War there was not a first-class orchestra in the United States, and generally but a very slight appreciation of the works of the classic composers. Grand opera had been given on a fairly adequate scale, but it was confined very largely to works of the Italian school. To Theodore Thomas, more than to any other individual, is due the education of the American people in the best music of the world. He was a violinist, but early in life devoted himself to orchestral work. For nearly forty years he was at the head of an orchestra, which, passing through many changes, became one of the best in the world. Thomas's last years were spent in Chicago, where he died on the eve of the dedication of a magnificent Music Hall which had been erected for his orchestra. It was not only as a conductor of an orchestra or of an opera that Thomas was preëminent, but he had high ideals, and these he managed, to a very large extent, to impress upon the cultured public of America. Largely under his tutelage, the American people came to know the best of the classic composers and to appreciate them.

The Boston Symphony Orchestra was founded in 1880, through the munificence of a man of wealth and has been

supported by him at a steady loss. It has had the advantage of continuous organization, and in many respects is considered the equal of any similar organization in the world. Its conductors have been chosen from among the leading musicians of Europe.

These two organizations are the major orchestras of America, but in more recent years Philadelphia, Pittsburg, and Washington have established permanent organizations which have been of great value in developing musical culture.

No American has reached high rank as a composer for the orchestra. Some of them have done excellent work, notably MacDowell and Damrosch, but none has achieved the things which are commonly termed immortal. The greatest symphony written in America and which is professedly American is that by Antonin Dvorak, entitled *From the New World*. The composer is a European, but he resided in this country for some years. He essayed to use the melodies of negroes and some of the chants of Indians as his themes. He produced a most interesting work, but its American characteristics are less prominent than the composer thought.

In minor composition many Americans have achieved distinction. Leopold Gottschalk was perhaps the foremost, and after him MacDowell, but the most popular of all is Reginald De Koven, who has written many pleasing scores for light opera. Walter Damrosch has written a serious opera. Stephen Foster was the originator of a melodic form which has become universal, and has been copied in every land and in many spheres. He is the real father of the Sunday-school music that has had so much vogue in America during the last forty years.

The balladists too have been many. Negro minstrelsy called for a style of composition which became popular, and in the last ten years the so-called "rag-time" music has attained a vogue that has amazed many music lovers. It involves a form of syncopation producing an interrupted

cadence pleasing to the average ear. The growth of musical taste has been constant and widespread in the United States. Grand opera, which long had a fitful and fateful career in the country, has in the last twenty years been established on the very highest basis, is abundantly patronized, and has a constant and growing educational effect. The American singers of widest fame are Emma Eames, Lillian Nordica, Madame Homer, Emma Nevada, Myron W. Whitney, and David Bispham.

Forty years ago the cottage organ was the most popular musical instrument in America. In 1905 more pianos were sold in the United States than in any previous year, and the total was ten times that of twenty years previous. The piano goes now into the home of the mechanic and the farmer, where forty years ago it was unknown. To America come the greatest musicians of the world, because there they receive the most patronage. America has developed comparatively few instrumentalists of the first order, but American vocalists have a respectable standing in the musical world. In all branches of fine arts there is in the United States a constant development which hints that fifty years more will produce results of world importance.

A notable result of the last forty years is the increase in the activities of the Federal government in many directions. Following the national tendencies evoked by the result of the Civil War, Federal development was rapid. Circuit Courts, which had been created during the administration of John Adams, only to be immediately abandoned, were again established, and later on a Circuit Court of Appeals was erected to relieve the Federal Supreme Court of much of its labor.

The chief extension has been in the executive departments. As already noted, two departments—those of Agriculture and of Commerce and Labor, were created in the era under consideration, and these have rapidly expanded under the demands growing out of the increase of population and the concentration of interests. Indeed, it is

probable that the most important fact in the last forty years has been the unification of the people of the United States, through various Federal acts, as a nation, in place of a congeries of rather loosely confederated republics.

In 1860 the national expenditure in all directions was less than eighty million dollars. In 1905 it amounted to some seven hundred million dollars, involving many factors not previously considered within national scope. It is not necessary to mention all the bureaus established for the national welfare, but some of them are of permanent interest.

The Life Saving Service, by which every mile of coast on the ocean or the great lakes is patrolled in dangerous seasons by expert seamen ready with the most approved appliances to rush to the aid of unfortunate mariners, has not only saved many thousands of lives, but property worth untold millions.

The Weather Bureau, established on scientific lines, has displaced the ancient almanac with its ridiculous prognostications. The weather reports from Washington and the various stations are published in the daily newspapers, and at all post offices and are sent by bulletin to every farmer who requests them. The telephone supplies this information in a large part of the country.

The Fish Commission has been of great assistance in increasing the number of food fish in all parts of the country. Most States of the North have a similar institution, but all depend not only on the researches of the Federal government, but, to a large extent, upon Federal supplies of eggs and spawn which are gratuitously distributed.

The Department of Agriculture has rapidly expanded in recent years. Originally it was a small bureau with slight potentialities. In recent times it has developed many functions. On application it furnishes every farmer abundant literature giving results of the very latest researches in all that pertains to agricultural life, whether it be the preparation of the soil, selection of seeds, care of crops, or the treatment of animals. Not only have millions of

valuable books been freely distributed, but bulletins are constantly issued dealing with current topics, with the best way to avoid dangers, or with some new discovery of importance.

The department also prepares monthly estimates as to the acreage and condition of crops of all kinds. Some of these have been used by speculators to affect prices in a way that has evoked unfriendly criticism. Most of the work done in this direction is by volunteer agents, and the margin of error has necessarily been considerable.

In addition to the work of reclaiming arid lands, already spoken of (and this work is rapidly increasing), the Department of Agriculture is earnestly engaged in the work of reforestizing Federal lands, and further than this in encouraging those States which have undertaken similar work on their own account. It is a lamentable fact that the forests of the United States are well-nigh exhausted. Thirty years ago the forests of the West yielded a rich harvest, principally of pine logs, which made lumber cheap. Michigan and Wisconsin were the chief sources of pine lumber, but nearly every State had some hardwood timber. Unfortunately, in the rapid settlement of the West much of the valuable timber was cut down and burned, simply to make room for the plow. The maximum yield of pine lumber east of the Rocky Mountains was reached about 1885. Thereafter there was a decline in the yield of pine and hemlock, but a larger use of hardwoods, while the heavy forests of the Pacific slope were drawn upon to such an extent that they also have shown signs of exhaustion. The surplus is already dissipated.

It is the purpose of the Agricultural Department to increase the growth of trees in every way possible. Early efforts in this direction by granting lands for homesteads on the basis of tree planting are being reinforced by more scientific methods. The results already achieved give promise of better things a generation hence. There is but a comparatively small portion of the United States under intensive

agricultural development, so that there is plenty of room for forests.

Horticulture has received much aid from the Agricultural Department. While Florida and California are looked upon as the chief fruit centres of America, it is because this interest is so largely, for the time being, exclusive in those sections. Florida is remarkable for the development in the growth of oranges, pineapples, and small fruits and early vegetables. California products have a much wider range. Beginning with grape culture, instituted by early Spanish settlers, the State has become the greatest fruit centre of the world. For years wine and dried fruits were the chief exports. With quicker and more scientific methods of transportation, fresh fruits from California are sold not only in the eastern part of the United States but in Europe, and compete with those from Italy. Much of this expansion of culture has been accomplished by irrigation where soil, originally valueless, has been, by reason of the regular supply of water furnished, sold at one thousand dollars per acre. Much of the development has been due to the patience, perseverance, and intelligence of the Agricultural Department, which has spared neither money nor pains to secure the best possible results. In nearly every State there are experiment stations, either entirely under Federal control or in connection with State universities.

The growth of the postal system, already mentioned, is phenomenal, and, more than any other feature of national effort, shows the development of the nation. The statistics of the War period, or those immediately following it, are scarcely fair as a basis of comparison, owing to untoward circumstances. The expense of the department in 1865 was less than \$14,000,000; in 1870, almost \$24,000,000; in 1880, only a little over \$36,000,000. Then the increase was rapid. In 1890 it was almost \$66,000,000; in 1900, almost \$108,000,000; and the estimate for 1906 is \$167,000,000. While the policy of the government has been to grant increased facilities at all times rather than to

make a profit, the increase of receipts has been almost as great as that of expenditures. There would be a large profit except for the cost of free rural delivery.

The cost of the mail service is about two dollars per capita or ten dollars per family. On first-class mail matter there is a large profit and on all other a loss, because of the low rates charged for all kinds of publications and of merchandise. Curiously enough, the United States is far behind most foreign nations in the matter of a parcels post. Untoward influences have prevented the establishment of this service, which is so satisfactory in most parts of the world. Still, the United States has entered into the foreign post parcels service. As a result, one can send a package of eleven pounds from any post office in the United States to foreign parts, while a four-pound limit is imposed for domestic parcels. Moreover, the foreign cost is cheaper. One may send from New York to Hankow, China, a four-pound package for forty-eight cents, while an exactly similar package sent across the river to Jersey City will cost sixty-four cents. This is an anomaly that is not likely long to continue.

While the Federal government exercises supervision over the national banks only, many States have modelled on the Federal regulations much of their legislation regarding banking institutions. The National Banking Act practically suspended currency issues by State banks, through the imposition of a ten per cent tax. Many of the State institutions then became national banks, but some retained their old charters, and there has been an enormous increase in both classes of institutions. The trust company is a more modern development. While in many aspects it is merely a local bank, it has taken over many of the functions formerly performed by lawyers. It acts as trustee or executor of wills, insures real estate titles, and in general has become a popular fiduciary institution, all the more popular because of its financial strength.

The number of scientific and philosophical societies in the United States is almost legion, of which some seventy

have more than merely local or national fame. The American Philosophical Society, founded in 1743, is the premier of these, while others, established at various dates, have become important.

The development of public taste and the growth of national refinement and culture are noted in the increasing number and higher artistic quality of public statues and monuments erected. Practically all this development of the better sort belongs to the last forty years. Washington contains many statues of public men, a few of which are excellent. The Shaw monument in Boston, executed by Saint-Gaudens, is looked upon by some critics as one of the finest artistic specimens of its class in the world. New York has some excellent statues, including the Sherman equestrian statue in Manhattan and the Grant equestrian statue in Brooklyn. Philadelphia's largest monument, erected on a lavish scale by the Society of the Cincinnati, is the work of a foreigner, and has been severely criticised. Indeed, America is not notable for its great monuments of a sculptural character, but rather for marble or bronze portraits of its distinguished men. Of the younger generation of sculptors, George Gray Barnard, originally of Pennsylvania, is preparing, at this writing, a notable group in marble for the capital of his native State.

The forty years between 1865 and 1905 are assuredly the most eventful in the development of the United States. In that period there has happily been nothing to interrupt seriously the progress of the people. There have been some commercial depressions, a slight war which added rather than detracted from prosperity, some lapses in ethics and public morals, but, on the whole, the average observer as well as the keenest would agree with Senator Hoar and Speaker Cannon, that there has been a constant progress. That the people are richer in mass and individually is certain, that they are more intelligent seems certain even by the test of statistics; that they are better in morals and manners is the testimony of those who through many decades have seen

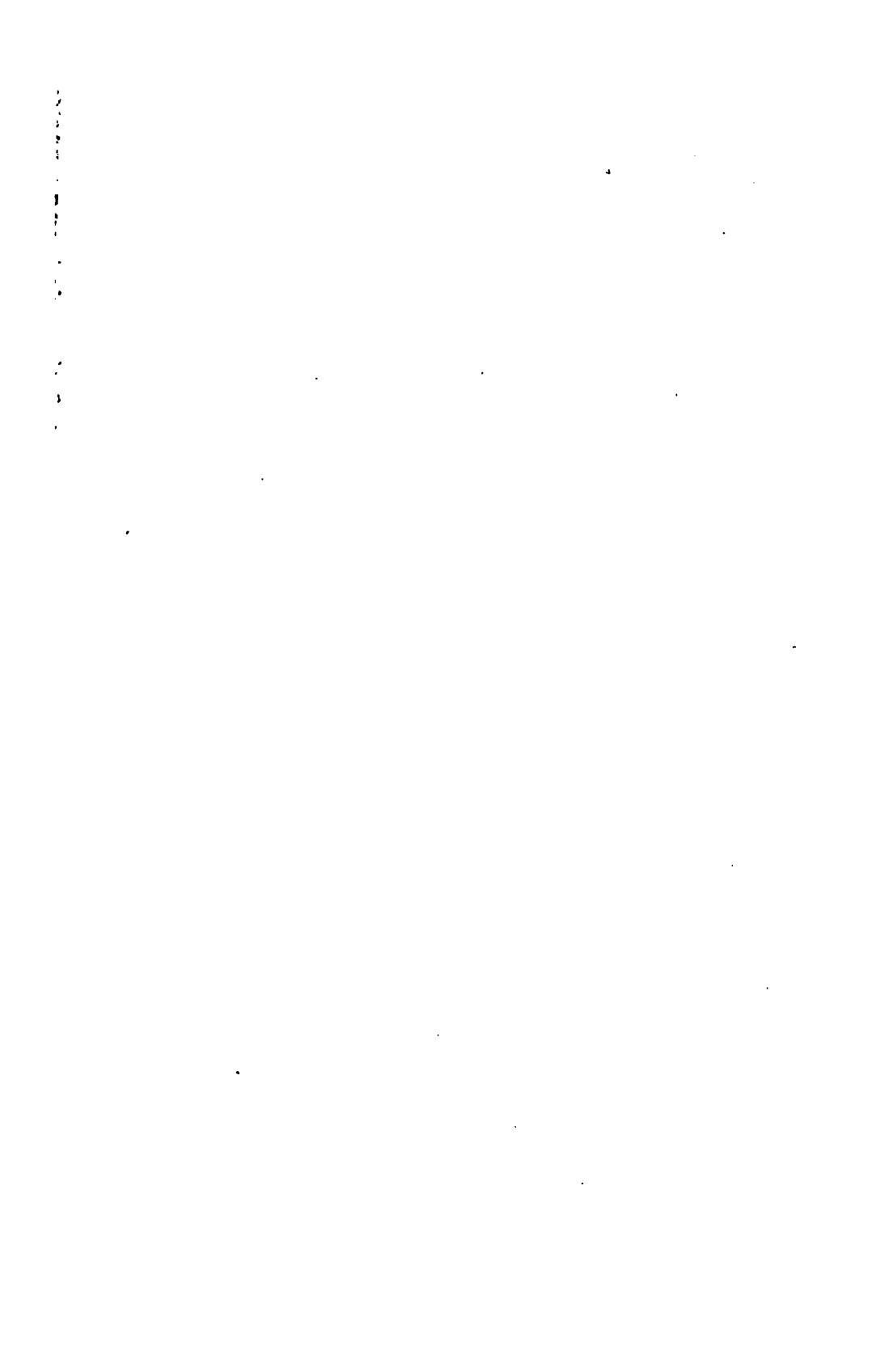
the nation grow and have watched the various forces as they have developed society. The American is a curious product of many races. In the sense that individuals of the older nations of the world claim a race individuality the American has none. It is doubtful if ten per cent of the American people have a purely American ancestry for one hundred years. There has been a constant infusion of new blood and new ideas which has been of advantage to all. The atmosphere, the soil, the youth, the potentialities, the opportunities of the New World have made the American people energetic and progressive. The forces which have been at work, especially during the last forty years, have been those tending to culture, refinement, the increase of knowledge, the broadening of the mind, and a largeness of spirit, which, in the aggregate, have produced much that must be interpreted as of the best type.

There have been many mistakes, many discouragements, and the problems are by no means solved. The American people are not determined to rest on any particular foundation. They are willing to change when change seems to be for the better. They are willing to turn back if that seems best. The gloomy animadversions on America by foreigners in the last century have proved false prophecies for the very reason that the social forces in the Old World are not those of the New. European life is apt to be rigid: American is adaptable. The European starts a revolution to gain his end: the American appeals to the common sense of the public and bears the ills he has, knowing the possibilities of appealing to the future verdict of the whole people.

The American citizen in forty years has broadened, has come to a better understanding, not only of his potentialities, but of his responsibilities. He is not prone to lament over past losses. He is apt to complain of existing conditions and immediately to proceed to correct them if he can. The American citizen is born to no fixed estate or unchangeable social position. He seems to be aware that the way to achieve things in this world is not to grumble but to do.

Probably he has his share of complaints, but he manages to make them effective in a way no other citizen of the world is in the habit, if capable, of doing. And he has the saving grace of humor and common sense. He never expects the millennium in his own age, may not individually be a saint, but in the general run he is a good-hearted, conscientious, and agreeable soul, who wants to do his duty as he sees it, and to have others do the same. If he sees some clouds in the sky he is not despondent.

No man can read this brief sketch of the last forty years, or study the period in all the many tomes at his command, without being assured that the American people have developed more during the period than in any other in the history of the nation, and that the surest testimony to this truth is that since Columbus made his landfall no nation has more nearly approached than the United States the *imperium* of peace on earth and good will toward men.



APPENDIX

TABLE I

The following table is taken from the United States government statistics. In this case, as in all others, it must be remembered that official statistics always contain an element of error, and this is especially the case before 1870, when census enumerators confined actual work to a few items. Otherwise, figures are to a great extent estimates, but are probably not far from the truth. In the figures below it is designed to show progress in forty-five years. Some of the data must be received with caution as explained monthly by the Treasury Department estimates:

ITEMS.	1860.	1900.	1904.
Area sq. miles .	3,025,600	3,025,600	3,025,600
Population	37,443,321	76,303,387	81,752,000
Population sq. mile .	10.39	25.22	27.02
Wealth \$.	16,159,616,000	94,300,000,000	.
Wealth per capita \$.	513.93	1,235.86	.
Debt, less cash in the treasury \$.	59,964,402	1,107,711,258	967,231,774
Debt per capita \$.	1.91	14.52	11.83
Interest-bearing debt \$.	64,640,828	1,023,478,860	895,157,440
Annual interest charge \$.	3,443,687	33,545,130	24,176,745
Interest per capita \$.	.11	.44	.30
Gold coined \$.	23,473,654	99,272,943	933,402,428
Silver coined \$.	2,259,390	36,345,321	15,095,610
Gold in circulation \$.		610,806,472	645,817,576
Silver in circulation \$.	228,304,775	142,050,334	166,842,169
Gold certificates in circulation \$.		200,723,010	465,655,000
Silver certificates in circulation \$.		408,465,574	401,138,668
United States notes outstanding \$.		313,971,545	333,759,495
National bank notes outstanding \$.		300,115,112	433,027,830
Miscellaneous currency \$.	207,102,477	79,008,942	12,902,057
Circulation of money \$.	435,407,252	2,955,150,998	2,519,142,860
Per capita \$.	13.85	26.94	30.77
National banks No.		3,732	5,331
Capital \$.		621,530,461	767,378,148
Bank clearings, New York \$.	7,231,143,057	57,964,588,564	59,672,796,804
Total, United States \$.		84,582,450,081	104,150,313,982
Deposits in national banks \$.		2,458,092,758	3,312,439,842
Savings banks \$.	149,277,504	2,380,719,954	2,918,775,399
Depositors, savings banks No.	693,870	6,107,083	7,305,443
Farms and farm property \$.	7,980,493,060	20,514,001,838	.
Farm products, value \$.		3,764,777,706	.
Manufacturing establishments No.	140,433	512,734	.
Value of products \$.	1,885,861,670	13,039,279,566	.
Receipts—Net ordinary \$.	56,054,600	567,240,852	540,631,749
Customs \$.	53,187,512	233,164,871	261,274,505
Internal revenue \$.		295,327,927	232,904,119

TABLE I—(Continued)

ITEMS.	1860.	1900.	1904.
Expenditures—Net ordinary \$.	60,050,755	447,553,458	557,755,832
War	16,472,203	134,774,768	115,035,411
Navy	11,514,650	55,953,078	102,956,102
Pensions	1,100,802	140,877,316	142,559,266
Interest on public debt \$.	3,144,121	40,160,333	24,640,490
Imports of merchandise	353,616,119	849,941,184	991,077,371
Per capita	11.25	10.88	12.12
Exports of merchandise	333,576,057	1,394,483,082	1,460,827,271
Per capita	10.61	17.96	17.87
Imports—Silk, raw lbs.		13,043,714	16,692,950
Rubber, crude lbs.		49,377,138	59,015,551
Tin plates lbs.		147,063,804	126,909,360
Iron, steel, and manufactures of \$.	26,158,235	20,478,728	27,068,312
Domestic exports—Iron, steel, and manu- factures of \$.	5,870,114	123,913,548	111,948,586
Agricultural products \$.	256,560,072	835,858,123	853,643,073
Manufactures \$.	40,545,892	433,851,756	452,415,921
Farm animals—Value \$.	1,089,329,915	2,228,123,134	2,998,247,479
Cattle No.	25,616,019	43,902,414	61,049,315
Horses No.	6,249,174	13,537,524	16,736,059
Sheep No.	22,471,275	41,883,065	51,630,144
Mules No.	1,151,148	2,086,027	2,757,916
Swine No.	33,512,867	37,079,356	47,009,307
Production of gold \$.	46,000,000	79,171,000	84,551,300
Silver \$.	150,000	74,533,495	69,395,000
Coal tons.	8,513,123	240,789,309	313,568,708
Petroleum gallons.	21,000,000	2,661,233,568	4,916,663,682
Pig iron tons.	821,223	13,789,242	16,407,033
Steel tons.		10,188,329	13,859,887
Tin plates lbs.		677,969,600	1,025,920,000
Copper tons.	7,200	270,588	311,627
Wool lbs.	60,264,913	288,636,621	291,783,032
Wheat bush.	173,104,924	522,229,505	552,399,517
Corn bush.	838,792,740	2,105,102,516	2,407,480,934
Cotton bales.	4,861,292	9,436,416	10,021,374
Cane sugar tons.	130,040	149,101	217,600
Sugar consumed tons.	428,785	2,219,847	2,707,162
Cotton taken by mills bales.	979,000	3,044,000	3,935,000
Cotton exported lbs.	1,767,686,338	3,100,583,188	3,003,192,760
Railways operated miles.	30,626	194,262	212,349
Passengers carried No.		584,665,935	719,654,951
Freight carried one mile tons.		141,162,109,473	173,613,762,130
Rates, ton per mile cts.		75	.79
Passenger cars No.		26,766	31,034
Freight cars No.		1,358,467	1,728,903
American vessels—Built tons.	214,797	393,790	378,542
Trading domestic, etc. tons.	2,546,237	826,694	808,768
Trading foreign tons.	2,807,631	4,338,145	5,392,767
On Great Lakes tons.	467,774	1,565,587	2,019,208
Vessels passing through Sault Ste. Marie Canal tons.	403,657	22,315,834	24,364,138
Commercial failures No.	3,676	10,774	12,199
Amount of liabilities \$.	79,807,000	138,495,673	144,202,311
Post offices No.	28,498	76,688	71,131
Receipts, Post Office Department . . . \$.	8,518,067	102,354,579	143,582,624
Telegrams sent No.		79,096,227	90,499,501
Newspapers, etc. No.	4,051	20,806	22,168
Public schools, salaries \$.		137,687,746	157,110,108
Patents issued No.	4,178	26,499	30,934
Immigrants arrived No.	150,237	448,572	812,870

TABLE II

The imports and exports, receipts and expenditures, of the United States government for one hundred and sixteen years (omitting details of early years) were as follows:

FISCAL YEARS.	IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.		RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES.	
	Exports.	Imports.	Net ordinary receipts.	Net ordinary expenditures.
1790	\$23,000,000	\$20,305,156	\$4,400,951	\$3,007,452
1791	74,450,000	69,691,669	17,840,670	18,285,535
1792	353,616,119	333,576,057	56,054,600	63,875,876
1793	289,310,542	219,553,833	41,476,299	66,650,213
1794	189,356,677	190,670,501	51,919,461	469,570,242
1795	243,035,815	203,964,447	112,094,946	718,734,276
1796	316,447,283	158,837,988	243,472,971	864,969,104
1797	238,223,580	166,029,393	326,031,158	1,295,099,399
1798	434,312,066	348,859,522	519,049,564	519,022,356
1799	395,761,096	294,566,141	465,546,680	346,729,326
1800	357,436,440	281,952,899	370,434,454	370,339,134
1801	417,506,379	286,117,697	337,188,256	341,190,598
1802	435,058,408	392,771,768	395,959,834	293,657,005
1803	520,223,684	442,820,178	374,431,105	283,160,394
1804	666,595,077	444,177,586	364,694,230	270,559,96
1805	642,136,210	522,470,922	322,177,674	285,239,325
1806	507,406,349	586,283,040	299,944,091	301,738,000
1807	533,065,436	543,442,711	284,020,771	274,643,393
1808	460,741,190	540,666,671	299,066,585	265,101,085
1809	451,383,126	602,475,220	281,000,042	241,334,475
1810	437,053,532	604,865,766	257,446,776	236,064,387
1811	445,777,775	712,439,441	272,329,137	266,947,884
1812	667,954,746	835,628,658	333,506,501	364,847,637
1813	642,664,628	904,378,346	360,782,293	259,652,639
1814	734,639,574	750,542,257	403,528,550	257,981,440
1815	723,186,914	823,639,402	398,287,58	265,408,138
1816	667,697,693	740,513,609	348,570,870	244,726,244
1817	577,527,329	742,189,755	323,050,706	260,236,931
1818	625,426,136	679,574,830	326,439,727	242,483,139
1819	692,319,768	716,183,211	371,403,78	267,929,180
1820	723,957,114	1,055,954,507	379,366,075	259,653,939
1821	745,131,652	742,401,375	387,950,059	281,996,616
1822	769,310,409	857,868,684	403,080,983	297,736,487
1823	844,916,196	884,480,810	394,612,447	355,374,685
1824	1,027,492,464	1,030,987,148	354,937,784	345,023,331
1825	866,406,022	847,865,194	385,819,629	283,477,954
1826	654,994,622	892,140,572	297,722,019	367,575,280
1827	731,690,695	807,518,165	373,390,715	356,195,298
1828	779,794,674	882,606,936	320,976,200	352,179,446
1829	764,730,412	1,050,993,556	347,731,705	365,774,160
1830	616,049,154	1,231,482,330	405,321,336	443,308,583
1831	697,148,489	1,227,023,392	515,960,690	605,072,180
1832	849,941,184	1,294,483,082	567,749,831	487,713,791
1833	823,172,162	1,437,764,991	587,685,337	509,967,353
1834	903,320,948	1,381,719,401	566,478,233	471,190,858
1835	1,025,719,237	1,420,121,679	558,887,586	506,972,073
1836	991,087,371	1,400,857,271	549,631,749	557,755,832
1837	1,117,512,029	1,578,561,770	543,423,859	542,800,568
Total, 1790-1905	\$36,387,863,510	\$40,842,724,431	\$18,180,273,474	\$18,964,975,333

TABLE III
Population of the United States from 1820 to 1900.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	1820.	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
Alabama	127,901	964,201	996,992	1,263,595	1,513,017	1,888,697
Alaska						63,592
Arizona			9,658	40,440	50,620	122,931
Arkansas	14,255	435,450	484,471	802,525	1,128,179	1,311,364
California		379,994	560,247	864,604	1,208,130	1,483,053
Colorado		34,277	39,864	194,327	419,198	539,700
Connecticut	275,148	400,147	537,454	641,700	740,258	908,420
Dakota		4,837	14,181	135,177		
Delaware	72,749	112,226	125,075	146,508	168,493	184,735
District of Columbia	32,039	25,080	32,700	277,624	320,392	278,718
Florida		140,424	257,748	269,493	301,422	528,542
Georgia	340,985	1,057,286	1,184,109	1,542,180	1,837,353	2,216,331
Hawaii						154,001
Idaho			14,999	32,610	84,385	161,772
Illinois	55,162	1,711,951	2,539,891	3,077,871	3,846,357	4,821,550
Indiana	147,178	1,350,428	1,680,637	1,978,302	2,192,404	2,516,462
Indian Territory						393,060
Iowa		674,913	1,194,020	1,624,615	1,911,890	2,237,853
Kansas	107,206	304,399	996,996	1,427,096	1,470,495	
Kentucky	564,135	1,115,684	1,321,011	1,648,693	1,858,635	2,147,174
Louisiana	152,923	708,002	726,915	939,946	1,118,587	1,381,625
Maine	289,269	682,279	662,015	648,930	661,086	694,466
Maryland	407,350	687,049	780,804	934,943	1,042,390	1,188,044
Massachusetts	523,159	1,231,066	1,457,351	1,783,085	2,238,943	2,805,346
Michigan	8,705	749,113	1,184,059	1,636,937	2,003,889	2,400,982
Minnesota		172,023	439,706	780,773	1,301,826	1,751,394
Mississippi	75,448	791,305	827,922	1,131,597	1,289,600	1,551,270
Missouri	66,557	1,182,022	1,721,295	2,168,380	2,679,184	3,106,665
Montana			20,595	39,159	132,159	243,329
Nebraska		38,841	122,923	452,402	1,058,910	1,066,300
Nevada		6,857	42,493	62,266	45,761	47,335
New Hampshire	244,022	326,073	318,300	346,991	376,530	411,588
New Jersey	277,426	674,035	906,096	1,131,216	1,444,933	1,883,669
New Mexico		93,516	91,874	119,365	153,593	195,320
New York	1,372,111	3,880,735	4,324,759	5,082,871	5,997,853	7,268,894
North Carolina	638,829	992,622	1,071,361	1,399,759	2,017,947	2,893,810
North Dakota						182,729
Ohio	581,295	2,339,511	2,665,260	3,158,062	3,672,326	4,151,545
Oklahoma						61,834
Oregon		59,465	90,923	174,768	313,707	413,536
Pennsylvania	1,047,507	2,906,215	3,521,951	4,682,891	5,258,074	6,303,115
Rhode Island	83,015	174,620	217,353	276,531	345,506	428,536
South Carolina	502,741	703,708	705,066	995,577	1,151,149	1,340,316
South Dakota						328,806
Tennessee	422,771	1,109,801	1,288,520	1,542,359	1,767,518	2,020,616
Texas		604,215	818,579	1,591,749	2,035,523	2,048,710
Utah		40,273	86,786	143,903	207,905	276,749
Vermont	235,066	315,068	330,551	334,286	332,422	343,641
Virginia	1,065,116	1,596,318	1,425,103	1,512,565	1,655,980	1,854,184
Washington		11,594	23,955	75,216	349,390	518,103
West Virginia			442,014	618,457	702,704	938,800
Wisconsin		775,881	1,054,670	1,315,407	1,686,882	2,069,042
Wyoming			9,118	20,789	60,705	92,533
Total	9,633,822	31,443,327	38,558,371	50,155,783	62,623,250	76,303,387

Population of Continental United States (including Alaska), 76,149,386 (1900); Philippines (1903), 7,635,426; Porto Rico, 953,243; Hawaii, 154,001; Guam, 8,661; American Samoa, 5,800. Total population, 85,271,093. Population in 1900, estimating Continental United States, about 92,000,000.

TABLE IV—*Foreign Born and of Foreign Parentage Population According to the Census of 1900.*

FOREIGN BORN:			
Africa	2,577	Japan	81,590
Asia (a)	11,927	Luxembourg	3,042
Atlantic islands	10,955	Mexico	103,445
Australia	7,041	Norway	338,426
Austria	276,602	Pacific islands (d)	2,059
Belgium	29,848	Poland, Austrian	58,503
Bohemia	156,999	Poland, German	150,232
Canada, English (b)	787,798	Poland, Russian	154,424
Canada, French (b)	395,427	Poland, unknown	20,430
Central America	3,021	Portugal	37,144
China	100,639	Roumania	15,043
Cuba	11,159	Russia	424,372
Denmark	154,016	Scotland	234,699
England	843,491	South America	4,814
Europe (c)	2,272	Spain	7,284
Finland	63,440	Sweden	574,625
France	104,534	Switzerland	115,959
Germany	2,669,104	Turkey	9,949
Greece	8,655	Wales	93,744
Holland	105,098	West Indies (e)	14,468
Hungary	145,815	Other countries	2,587
India	2,069	Born at sea	8,310
Ireland	1,619,469	Total foreign born	10,460,085
Italy	484,703		

(a) Except China, Japan, and India. (b) Includes Newfoundland. (c) Not otherwise specified. (d) Except Philippine Islands. (e) Except Cuba and Porto Rico.

OF FOREIGN PARENTAGE.

SPECIFIED COUNTRIES.	Total.	Having both parents born as specified.	Having one parent born as specified and one parent native.
Austria	434,728	408,195	26,533
Bohemia	356,865	325,400	31,465
Canada, English	1,319,141	683,440	635,701
Canada, French	812,621	635,972	176,649
Denmark	308,488	266,752	41,736
England	2,146,271	1,364,159	782,112
France	267,257	171,347	95,910
Germany	7,832,681	6,244,799	1,587,882
Hungary	216,402	210,307	6,095
Ireland	4,981,047	4,001,401	979,586
Italy	732,421	706,598	25,823
Norway	787,836	684,100	103,736
Poland	687,711	668,536	19,175
Russia	685,360	669,810	15,550
Scotland	623,350	421,192	202,158
Sweden	1,084,842	998,538	86,304
Switzerland	255,278	187,924	67,354
Wales	246,596	173,416	73,180
Other countries	1,079,366	912,055	167,311
Of mixed foreign parentage	1,340,678	1,340,678
All classes	26,198,939	21,074,679	5,124,260

These returns embrace persons born in foreign countries as well as native born persons having one or both parents born in foreign countries.

TABLE V—Population in 1900 According to Age.

MONTHS.	Number.	YEARS.	Number.	YEARS.	Number.	YEARS.	Number.
Under 1 .	153,474	22 . . .	1,485,923	49 . . .	626,160	76	110,605
1 to 2 . . .	339,330	23 . . .	1,430,297	50 . . .	862,051	77	93,510
3 to 5 . . .	496,121	24 . . .	1,454,453	51 . . .	510,652	78	86,687
6 to 8 . . .	470,031	25 . . .	1,476,860	52 . . .	572,186	79	73,819
9 to 11 . . .	458,936	26 . . .	1,312,957	53 . . .	495,522	80	88,884
YEARS.		27 . . .	1,282,976	54 . . .	502,410	81	49,725
1	1,768,078	28 . . .	1,311,166	55 . . .	569,826	82	44,826
2	1,830,332	29 . . .	1,145,482	56 . . .	404,794	83	35,944
3	1,824,312	30 . . .	1,405,250	57 . . .	399,636	84	38,733
4	1,831,014	31 . . .	956,575	58 . . .	309,683	85	29,022
5	1,808,569	32 . . .	1,102,117	59 . . .	380,233	86	19,665
6	1,832,613	33 . . .	1,030,812	60 . . .	548,144	87	16,741
7	1,782,918	34 . . .	1,001,279	61 . . .	287,645	88	13,189
8	1,780,445	35 . . .	1,136,400	62 . . .	331,577	89	9,953
9	1,669,578	36 . . .	932,162	63 . . .	323,026	90	11,401
10	1,740,628	37 . . .	899,682	64 . . .	300,971	91	4,382
11	1,583,132	38 . . .	1,037,433	65 . . .	354,279	92	3,687
12	1,637,500	39 . . .	959,098	66 . . .	265,241	93	2,592
13	1,550,402	40 . . .	1,106,762	67 . . .	249,924	94	1,990
14	1,568,564	41 . . .	733,459	68 . . .	225,985	95	2,293
15	1,533,018	42 . . .	844,453	69 . . .	207,497	96	1,261
16	1,561,503	43 . . .	738,418	70 . . .	273,449	97	895
17	1,489,146	44 . . .	734,074	71 . . .	152,639	98	1,081
18	1,534,070	45 . . .	880,796	72 . . .	171,447	99	766
19	1,438,352	46 . . .	651,391	73 . . .	148,690	100 and over	3,504
20	1,533,494	47 . . .	632,388	74 . . .	137,607	All ages (<i>est.</i>)	75,994,575
21	1,426,849	48 . . .	603,877	75 . . .	155,236	Age unknown	200,584

TABLE VI—Number and Causes of Deaths in the Census Year 1900, with Proportion per 100,000 from all Causes.

CAUSES OF DEATH.	1900.		CAUSES OF DEATH.	1900.	
	Number.	Proportion.		Number.	Proportion.
Consumption (<i>a</i>)	111,059	10,688	Diseases of stomach (<i>f</i>)	13,484	1,298
Pneumonia	105,978	10,198	Measles	12,866	1,238
Heart disease (<i>b</i>)	69,315	6,671	Croup	12,484	1,201
Diarrhoeal diseases (<i>c</i>)	46,907	4,514	Diseases of liver (<i>g</i>)	12,249	1,179
Unknown causes	40,539	3,901	Diseases of brain	11,469	1,104
Diseases of kidneys (<i>d</i>)	36,724	3,534	Inanition	11,382	1,095
Typhoid fever	35,379	3,405	Dropsy	11,264	1,084
Cancer	29,475	2,837	Whooping cough	9,958	958
Old age	29,222	2,812	Peritonitis	7,502	732
Apopлексy	26,901	2,589	Railroad accidents	6,930	667
Inflammation of brain and meningitis	25,664	2,470	Septicæmia	6,776	658
Cholera infantum	25,576	2,461	Burns and scalds	6,772	652
Paralysis (<i>e</i>)	23,865	2,297	Scarlet fever	6,333	609
Bronchitis	20,223	1,946	Suicide	5,498	549
Debility and atrophy	17,282	1,663	Drowning	5,387	518
Influenza	16,645	1,602	Appendicitis	5,111	492
Diphtheria	16,475	1,586	Rheumatism	5,067	488
Convulsions	15,505	1,492	Diabetes	4,672	450
Malarial fever	14,874	1,431	Hydrocephalus	4,308	414
Premature birth	14,720	1,417	Cerebro-spinal fever	4,274	408

(*a*) Including general tuberculosis. (*b*) Including pericarditis. (*c*) Including cholera morbus, colitis, diarrhoea, dysentery, and enteritis. (*d*) Including Bright's disease. (*e*) Including general paralysis of the insane. (*f*) Including gastritis. (*g*) Including jaundice, and inflammation and abscess of the liver.

TABLE VII.—*Immigration into the United States, 1820–1905.*

YEAR.	Total Alien Passengers.	YEAR.	Total Immigrants.	YEAR.	Total Immigrants.
1820	8,385	1873	459,803	1892	623,084
1830	23,322	1874	313,339	1893	502,917
1840	84,066	1875	227,498	1894	314,467
1850	369,986	1876	169,986	1895	279,948
1860	150,237	1877	141,857	1896	343,267
1861	89,724	1878	138,469	1897	230,832
1862	89,207	1879	177,826	1898	229,299
1863	174,524	1880	457,257	1899	311,715
1864	193,195	1881	660,431	1900	448,572
1865	247,453	1882	788,092	1901	487,918
1866	163,594	1883	603,322	1902	648,743
Fiscal year ending June 30		1884	518,592	1903	857,046
1867	298,067	1885	395,340	1904	812,870
1868	282,189	1886	334,203	1905	1,027,421
1869	352,569	1887	499,109	Total	23,599,153
1870	387,203	1888	546,880		
1871	321,350	1889	444,427		
1872	404,806	1890	455,302	1789 to 1820 estimated 250,000	
		1891	560,319		

TABLE VIII.—*Religious Denominations in the United States.*

The following statistics of churches in the United States were, for the most part, prepared in 1905 by Dr. H. K. Carroll, of the *Christian Advocate*, who had been employed as a special agent of the census:

DENOMINATIONS.	Ministers.	Churches.	Communicants.
ADVENTISTS:			
Evangelical	34	30	1,147
Advent Christians	912	610	26,500
Seventh-Day	471	1,632	57,452
Church of God	19	29	647
Life and Advent Union	60	28	3,800
Churches of God in Jesus Christ	94	95	2,872
Total Adventists	1,590	2,424	92,418
BAPTISTS:			
Regular, North	7,691	9,000	1,070,206
Regular, South	12,759	20,631	1,850,889
Regular, Colored	10,637	15,484	1,929,139
Six Principle	8	12	858
Seventh-Day	110	97	8,839
Freewill	1,275	1,543	86,322
Original Freewill	120	167	12,000
General	465	515	25,769
Separate	113	103	6,479
United	25	204	13,209
Baptist Church of Christ	80	152	8,254
Primitive	2,130	3,530	126,000
Old Two Seed in the Spirit Predestinarian	300	473	12,851
Total Baptists	35,773	52,001	5,150,815

TABLE VIII—(*Continued*)

DENOMINATIONS.	Ministers.	Churches.	Communi-cants.
BRETHREN (RIVER):			
Brethren in Christ	124	75	2,866
Old Order, or Yorker	7	8	214
United Zion's Children	20	25	525
Total River Brethren	151	108	3,605
BRETHREN (PLYMOUTH):			
Brethren (I)		109	2,289
Brethren (II)		88	2,419
Brethren (III)		86	2,335
Brethren (IV)		31	718
Total Plymouth Brethren		314	6,662
CATHOLICS:			
Roman Catholic	13,413	11,293	10,104,219
Polish Catholic	33	43	42,850
Russian Orthodox	40	31	40,000
Greek Orthodox	8	9	21,230
Syrian Orthodox	3	4	15,000
Armenian	15	21	8,500
Old Catholic	3	5	425
Reformed Catholic	6	5	1,000
Total Catholics (a)	13,521	11,411	10,833,824
CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC	95	10	1,491
CHINESE TEMPLES		47	· · ·
CHRISTADELPHIANS		63	1,277
Christian Connection	1,348	1,340	101,597
CHRISTIAN CATHOLIC (DOWIE)	104	110	40,000
CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION	10	13	754
CHRISTIAN SCIENTISTS	1,222	611	66,022
CHURCH OF GOD (WINEBRENNERIAN)	460	580	38,000
CHURCH OF THE NEW JERUSALEM	133	134	7,982
COMMUNISTIC SOCIETIES:			
Shakers		15	1,000
Amana		1	1,766
Harmony		1	8
Altruists		1	25
Church Triumphant (Koreshan Ecclesia)		3	205
Christian Commonwealth		1	80
Total Communists		22	3,084
CONGREGATIONALISTS	6,127	5,979	667,951
DISCIPLES OF CHRIST	6,035	11,088	1,233,866
DUNKARDS:			
Conservatives	2,775	900	95,000
Old Order	213	75	4,000
Progressive	265	144	15,000
Seventh-Day (German)	5	6	794
Total Dunkards	3,258	1,125	114,794
EVANGELICAL BODIES:			
Evangelical Association	916	1,659	99,411
United Evangelical Church	507	997	65,298
Total Evangelical	1,423	2,656	164,709
FRIENDS:			
Orthodox	1,281	830	92,820
"Hicksite"	115	183	19,545
"Wilburite"	38	53	4,408
Primitive	11	9	238
Total Friends	1,445	1,075	117,065

(a) A Catholic authority gives the total at about 12,000,000. This includes all members of Catholic families. Protestant statistics are for actual membership only.

TABLE VIII—(*Continued*)

DENOMINATIONS.	Ministers.	Churches.	Communi-cants.
FRIENDS OF THE TEMPLE	4	4	340
GERMAN EVANGELICAL PROTESTANT	100	155	20,000
GERMAN EVANGELICAL SYNOD	945	1,213	209,791
JEWS:			
Orthodox	135	340	· · ·
Reformed	166	230	· · ·
Total Jews (Estimated)	301	570	1,350,000
LATTER-DAY SAINTS:			
Utah Branch	700	796	300,000
Reorganized Branch	800	542	43,250
Total Mormons	1,560	1,338	343,250
LUTHERANS:			
(General Bodies:)			
General Synod	1,285	1,682	223,473
United Synod, South	216	455	43,266
General Council	1,312	2,016	370,668
Synodical Conference	2,289	3,694	574,020
United Norwegian	404	1,280	144,296
(Indépendent Synods:)			
Ohio	518	684	97,232
Buffalo	26	30	5,540
Hauge's	109	275	33,000
Eielsen's	7	50	1,550
Texas	14	20	2,300
Iowa	473	868	90,580
Norwegian	316	877	78,486
Michigan, etc.	38	55	8,758
Danish in America	53	127	8,000
Icelandic	10	37	3,780
Immanuel	17	14	3,500
Suomai, Finnish	22	8	14,149
Norwegian Free	140	420	41,400
Danish United	98	147	9,268
Slovakian	10	25	3,500
Finnish National	19	42	5,000
Finnish Apostolic	10	15	3,000
Independent Congregations	85	200	25,000
Total Lutherans.	7,471	13,094	1,789,766
SWEDISH EVANGELICAL MISSION COVENANT (WALDENSTROMIANS)	291	307	33,400
MENNONITES:			
Mennonite	430	280	23,160
Bruederhoef	9	5	352
Amish	280	126	13,580
Old Amish	75	25	2,438
Apostolic	2	2	209
Reformed	43	34	1,680
General Conference	140	77	10,682
Church of God in Christ	18	18	449
Old (Wisler)	17	15	603
Bundes Conference	45	17	3,036
Defenceless	20	11	1,246
Brethren in Christ	121	138	3,629
Total Mennonites	1,200	757	60,953

TABLE VIII—(Continued)

DENOMINATIONS.	Ministers.	Churches.	Communi-cants.
METHODISTS:			
Methodist Episcopal	17,758	27,121	2,847,932
Union American Methodist Episcopal	200	225	17,500
African Methodist Episcopal	6,510	5,816	766,125
African Union Methodist Protestant	125	86	3,687
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	3,401	3,050	560,700
Methodist Protestant	1,551	2,242	183,804
Wesleyan Methodist	514	534	17,500
Methodist Episcopal, South	6,438	15,884	1,556,728
Congregational Methodist	415	425	24,000
Congregational Methodist (Colored)	5	5	319
New Congregational Methodist	238	417	4,022
Zion Union Apostolic	30	32	2,346
Colored Methodist Episcopal	2,200	1,510	209,654
Primitive	97	100	7,000
Free Methodist	1,015	1,021	29,638
Independent Methodist	8	15	2,569
Evangelist Missionary	72	47	3,014
Total Methodists	39,977	58,530	6,256,738
MORAVIANS	130	116	16,327
PRESBYTERIANS:			
Northern	7,483	7,729	1,069,170
Cumberland	1,649	2,986	186,104
Cumberland (Colored)	583	558	42,000
Welsh Calvinistic	178	178	11,939
United	957	947	121,328
Southern	1,538	3,082	239,988
Associate	12	31	1,053
Associate Reformed, South	96	136	12,158
Reformed (Synod)	127	119	9,117
Reformed (General Synod)	33	33	4,200
Reformed (Covenanted)	1	1	40
Reformed in the United States and Canada	1	1	600
Total Presbyterians	12,658	15,801	1,697,697
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL:			
Protestant Episcopal	5,039	6,927	798,642
Reformed Episcopal	100	78	9,282
Total Protestant Episcopal	5,139	7,005	807,924
REFORMED:			
Reformed (Dutch)	723	645	115,280
Reformed (German)	1,160	1,728	263,954
Christian Reformed	111	105	21,707
Total Reformed	1,994	2,538	401,001
SALVATION ARMY	2,367	721	25,000
SCHWENKELDIANS	3	7	600
SOCIAL BRETHREN	17	20	913
SOCIETY FOR ETHICAL CULTURE	• • •	4	1,500
SPIRITUALISTS	• • •	334	45,030
THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY	• • •	69	2,431
UNITED BRETHREN:			
United Brethren	1,943	3,971	251,312
United Brethren (Old Constitution)	442	512	21,888
Total United Brethren	2,385	4,482	273,200
UNITARIANS	555	456	77,000
UNIVERSALISTS	727	869	54,000
INDEPENDENT CONGREGATIONS	54	156	14,126
Grand total	151,113	199,658	30,313,311

TABLE IX—*Educational Statistics.*
School and college enrollment for the year 1903–1904.

GRADES.	NUMBER OF PUPILS.		
	Public.	Private.	Total.
Elementary (primary and grammar)	15,620,230	1,200,813	16,821,043
Secondary (high schools and academies)	652,804	109,431	822,235
City evening schools	270,692	· · ·	270,692
Universities and colleges	44,209	84,552	128,761
Professional schools	10,565	50,659	61,224
Normal schools	51,035	11,992	63,027
Business schools	· · ·	138,303	138,303
Reform schools	33,871	· · ·	33,871
Schools for deaf	11,760	507	12,267
Schools for blind	4,236	· · ·	4,236
Schools for feeble-minded	14,807	698	15,595
Government Indian schools	29,161	· · ·	29,161
Indian schools (five civilized tribes)	13,727	· · ·	13,727
Schools in Alaska	4,257	· · ·	4,257
Orphan asylums and other benevolent institutions	· · ·	15,000	15,000
Private kindergartens	· · ·	105,932	105,932
Miscellaneous (art, music, etc.)	· · ·	50,000	50,000
Total for United States	16,768,044	1,827,947	18,595,991

AMOUNT EXPENDED FOR COMMON SCHOOLS SINCE 1869–1870. FROM
THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION

YEAR.	EXPENDED FOR			Total expenditure.
	Sites, buildings, furniture, etc.	Teachers- and superin- tendents' salaries.	All other purposes.	
1869–1870 (<i>ten years</i>)	· · ·	\$500,905,862	· · ·	\$764,733,550
1870–1880	55,942,972	· · ·	· · ·	78,94,687
1880–1881	58,012,463	· · ·	· · ·	83,642,964
1881–1882	60,594,933	· · ·	· · ·	88,994,466
1882–1883	64,798,859	· · ·	· · ·	96,750,003
1883–1884	68,384,275	· · ·	· · ·	103,212,837
1884–1885	72,878,993	· · ·	· · ·	110,328,375
1885–1886	76,270,434	· · ·	· · ·	113,322,545
1886–1887	78,639,964	· · ·	· · ·	115,783,890
1887–1888	83,022,562	· · ·	· · ·	124,244,911
1888–1889	87,568,306	· · ·	· · ·	132,539,783
1889–1890	\$23,395,624	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·
1890–1891	20,207,041	91,836,484	\$22,463,190	140,506,715
1891–1892	26,448,047	96,303,009	24,743,093	147,494,809
1892–1893	29,344,559	100,208,250	26,174,197	155,817,012
1893–1894	30,294,130	104,560,339	29,316,588	164,171,057
1894–1895	30,007,088	109,202,405	33,292,750	172,502,843
1895–1896	29,436,040	113,872,388	32,499,951	175,800,279
1896–1897	32,590,112	117,139,847	33,769,012	183,498,965
1897–1898	32,376,476	119,310,503	35,995,290	187,682,209
1898–1899	31,415,233	124,192,270	38,685,408	194,292,911
1899–1900	31,229,308	129,345,873	39,579,416	200,154,597
1900–1901 (a)	35,450,820	137,687,746	41,826,052	214,964,618
1901–1902 (a)	40,361,064	142,776,168	42,905,104	226,043,236
	41,758,488	150,013,734	43,436,243	235,208,465

(a) Subject to correction.

TABLE X—*Occupations by Ages. Census of 1900.*

	10-15.	16-24.	25-34.	35-44.
Agricultural pursuits	1,062,251	2,544,120	2,080,773	1,721,002
Professional service	2,956	308,916	405,673	251,650
Domestic and personal	280,143	1,767,389	1,426,068	906,742
Trade and transportation	122,507	1,265,795	1,389,612	990,356
Manufacturing and mechanical	284,330	1,869,876	1,927,966	1,453,227
All occupations	1,752,187	7,755,996	7,240,092	5,412,977
	45-54.	55-64.	Over 64.	Unknown.
Agricultural pursuits	1,437,439	936,620	631,440	26,574
Professional service	153,655	88,947	48,398	4,341
Domestic and personal	645,089	357,273	177,767	33,307
Trade and transportation	573,962	289,387	130,226	26,448
Manufacturing and mechanical	893,177	447,446	216,235	20,147
All occupations	3,703,066	2,117,673	1,204,066	100,837

PROPORTION OF MALES AND FEMALES ENGAGED IN GAINFUL OCCUPATIONS

CLASSES OF OCCUPATIONS.	MALES.			FEMALES.		
	1880.	1890.	1900.	1880.	1890.	1900.
Agricultural pursuits	92.3	92.1	90.6	7.7	7.9	9.4
Professional service	70.6	67.0	65.8	29.4	33.0	34.3
Domestic and personal	65.5	60.5	62.5	34.5	39.5	37.5
Trade and transportation	60.6	93.1	80.4	3.4	6.9	10.6
Manufacturing and mechanical	83.3	81.9	81.5	16.7	18.1	18.5
All occupations	84.8	82.8	81.7	15.2	17.2	18.3

Men are thus seen to be in an overwhelming majority in all classes of occupations, though women are slowly gaining on them in each class.

TABLE XI—*Ownership of Homes.*

STATE OR TERRITORY.	PER CENT OF FAMILIES HAVING HOMES.			PER CENT OF FARM FAMILIES HAVING HOMES.				
	Owned.			Owned.				
	Total.	Free.	Mortgaged.	Hired.	Total.	Free.	Mortgaged.	Hired.
United States	46.5	31.8	14.7	53.5	64.4	44.4	20.0	35.6
N. Atlantic division	38.0	22.3	15.7	62.0	78.2	48.2	30.0	21.8
S. Atlantic division	40.7	33.2	7.5	59.3	55.2	45.9	9.3	44.8
N. Central division	55.7	35.3	20.4	44.3	72.3	42.2	30.1	27.7
S. Central division	43.4	36.1	7.3	56.6	51.2	42.3	8.9	48.8
Western division	53.4	42.7	10.7	46.6	81.0	63.4	17.6	39.0

TABLE XII

Statistics of Cities. Compiled from Bulletin of Department of Labor for September, 1902.

CITIES.	Estimated population, January 1, 1902.	Marriages (d).	Divorces granted.	Birth rate.	Death rate (d).
New York, New York (a)	3,583,930	33,447	817	22.53	19.73
Chicago, Illinois	2,800,000	16,684	1,808	25.00	13.56
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	1,335,000	9,932	498	21.13	16.08
St. Louis, Missouri	595,000	(b)	573	17.99	17.88
Boston, Massachusetts	573,579	6,312	440	27.27	19.70
Baltimore, Maryland	520,000	4,890	170	16.91	20.15
Cleveland, Ohio	390,000	3,199	454	20.61	14.96
Buffalo, New York	370,000	3,448	88	18.71	14.49
San Francisco, California	350,000	3,636	846	13.93	20.02
Cincinnati, Ohio	340,000	3,518	495	14.97	18.10
Pittsburg, Pennsylvania	331,500	3,443	186	22.86	19.77
New Orleans, Louisiana	300,000	2,104	151	22.13	21.59
Detroit, Michigan	300,000	2,681	297	9.39	15.04
Milwaukee, Wisconsin	297,500	2,460	225	24.92	13.88
Washington, District of Columbia	287,000	3,183	168	15.79	21.21
Newark, New Jersey	255,000	2,441	(c)	23.59	18.85
Jersey City, New Jersey	233,577	2,062	(c)	20.89	18.93
Louisville, Kentucky	215,000	1,559	174	17.67	16.27
Minneapolis, Minnesota	210,000	(c)	180	19.55	11.95
Providence, Rhode Island	178,000	1,875	327	16.38	19.35
Indianapolis, Indiana	182,500	2,608	471	18.50	14.13
Kansas City, Missouri	172,500	1,704	420	17.33	15.50
St. Paul, Minnesota	170,000	2,478	194	18.98	20.62
Rochester, New York	170,000	1,492	156	27.14	14.51
Denver, Colorado	140,000	1,018	163	(c)	19.51

(a) In 1905 a census of New York City showed a population slightly in excess of 4,000,000.

(b) In some cases includes county.

(c) Not reported.

(d) On basis of estimated population, January, 1902, not including still births.

TABLE XIII

Growth of Manufactures in the United States. From Census Returns.

	1860.	1870.	1880.	1890.	1900.
Number of establishments	140,433	252,148	253,852	355,415	512,339
Capital	1,009,855,715	2,118,208,769	2,790,272,606	6,525,156,486	9,835,086,909
Total wages	378,878,966	775,584,343	947,953,795	1,801,228,321	2,328,691,254
Cost of materials	1,031,605,092	2,488,427,242	3,396,823,549	5,162,044,076	7,348,144,755
Value of products, including custom work and repairing	1,885,861,676	4,232,325,442	5,369,579,191	9,372,437,283	13,014,287,498

TOTALS FOR SELECTED INDUSTRIES, 1900

CLASSES.	No. establish- ments.	Capital employed.	WAGE-EARNERS.		Value of products.
			Aver- age num- ber.	Total wages.	
Wool manufactures	2,636	\$475,075,713	264,021	\$92,499,262	\$427,905,020
Cotton manufactures	1,051	467,240,157	302,861	86,689,752	339,198,619
Silk and silk goods	483	81,082,201	65,416	20,982,194	107,256,558
Iron and steel—Rolling mills and steel works	438	429,660,043	183,093	102,288,692	506,588,034
Blast furnaces	223	143,159,232	39,241	18,484,400	206,756,557
Slaughtering and meat packing	921	189,198,824	68,534	33,457,013	786,603,070
Lumber and timber products	33,035	611,611,524	283,260	104,640,592	566,839,984
Flouring and grist mill products	25,258	218,714,104	37,073	17,707,418	560,710,063
Lead, smelting and refining	39	72,148,933	8,311	5,06,684	175,466,304
Copper, smelting and refining	47	53,063,395	11,324	8,529,022	165,131,670
Liquors, malt	1,524	475,284,468	39,532	25,820,211	237,265,713
Liquors, distilled	967	32,551,604	3,722	1,733,218	66,790,443
Boots and shoes, factory product	1,600	101,795,233	142,922	59,175,883	261,028,580
Printing and publishing	15,305	192,443,708	94,604	50,333,051	222,983,569
Cars and general shop construction	1,296	119,580,273	173,652	96,062,329	218,238,877
Leather, tanned, curried, and finished	1,306	173,977,421	52,109	22,591,091	204,938,187
Chemical manufactures	1,740	238,529,041	46,705	21,799,252	202,582,396
Cheese, butter, and condensed milk	9,351	36,491,799	12,860	6,169,060	131,183,338
Paper and wood pulp	763	167,507,713	49,646	20,746,486	127,280,162
Petroleum refining	67	95,327,892	12,199	6,717,087	123,929,384
Carriages and wagons	7,632	118,187,838	62,540	29,814,011	122,537,276
Agricultural implements	715	157,707,951	46,582	22,450,880	101,207,428
Clay products	6,422	147,913,323	105,618	39,534,070	95,443,362
Gas, illuminating and heating	877	567,000,500	22,459	12,436,296	75,710,693
Shipbuilding	1,110	77,362,701	46,781	24,839,103	74,578,158
Glass	355	61,423,903	52,818	26,529,748	56,539,712
Coke	241	36,502,679	16,099	7,085,736	35,585,445
Turpentine and rosin	1,503	11,847,495	41,864	8,393,483	20,344,888

TABLE XIV—*Mineral Products of the United States and the World. 1900.*

	The world.	United States.	Per cent.
Gold (a)	12,366,319	3,829,897	30
Silver (b)	172,838,870	57,647,000	33
Iron (c)	40,968,980	14,099,870	34
Steel (d)	27,182,347	10,382,069	38
Copper (e)	486,084	268,787	54
Zinc (f)	490,973	111,794	22
Tin (g)	78,802	· · ·	· · ·
Coal (h)	723,617,836	228,717,579	31
Petroleum (i)	5,000,000,000	2,500,000,000	50

(a) Fine ounces. In 1899 Australasia produced 3,837,181 fine ounces; Africa, 3,542,361.
 (b) Fine ounces. In 1899 Mexico produced 55,612,000 fine ounces. (c) Pig iron metric tons. The United Kingdom produced 9,052,107; Germany, 8,351,742. (d) Metric tons. Germany, 6,645,869; United Kingdom, 4,800,000. (e) Long tons. Spain and Portugal, 54,852. (f) Metric tons. Holland and Germany, 291,617. (g) Long tons. Asia, 64,587.
 (h) Metric tons, 1899. United Kingdom, 223,616,279; Germany, 135,844,419. (i) Gallons. Russia, 2,500,000,000.

TABLE XV—*Grain Production of the United States.*

YEAR.	Indian corn. Bushels.	Wheat. Bushels.	Oats. Bushels.	Barley. Bushels.	Rye. Bushels.	Buckwheat. Bushels.
1860 . . .	838,792,742	173,104,024	172,643,185	15,825,808	21,101,380	17,571,818
1870 . . .	760,944,549	287,745,626	282,107,157	29,761,305	16,918,795	9,821,721
1880 . . .	1,754,861,535	459,479,503	407,858,900	44,113,495	19,831,595	11,817,327
1890 . . .	1,449,970,000	399,262,000	523,021,000	67,168,344	25,807,472	12,432,832
1891 . . .	2,000,154,000	611,780,000	738,394,000	86,839,153	31,751,868	12,700,938
1892 . . .	1,628,464,000	515,949,000	661,035,000	80,066,762	27,978,824	12,143,185
1893 . . .	1,679,496,131	396,131,725	638,854,850	69,869,495	26,555,446	12,138,311
1894 . . .	1,212,770,052	460,267,416	662,086,928	61,400,465	26,727,615	12,668,200
1895 . . .	2,151,139,000	467,103,000	824,444,000	87,373,000	27,210,000	15,341,000
1896 . . .	2,283,875,000	427,684,000	707,346,000	69,605,000	24,369,000	14,090,000
1897 . . .	1,902,967,933	530,149,168	698,737,809	66,685,127	27,303,324	14,997,452
1898 . . .	1,924,185,000	675,149,000	730,905,000	55,792,000	25,657,000	11,722,000
1899 . . .	2,078,143,933	547,303,846	796,177,713	73,381,503	23,991,741	11,064,471
1900 . . .	2,105,102,516	522,220,505	809,125,989	58,925,833	23,995,927	9,566,966
1901 . . .	1,522,510,891	748,460,218	736,808,724	109,932,924	30,344,830	15,125,939
1902 . . .	2,583,648,312	670,063,008	987,842,712	134,054,023	33,630,592	14,529,770
1903 . . .	2,244,776,925	637,821,835	784,094,199	132,861,307	29,303,416	14,243,444
1904 . . .	2,407,480,934	552,399,517	894,595,552	130,748,958	27,241,515	25,008,336

The indications of the corn crop of the United States for 1905 were 2,521,987,000 bushels, the largest harvest in the country's history.

TABLE XVI—*Cotton Crop of the United States.*

YEAR.	Bales.	YEAR.	Bales.	YEAR.	Bales.	YEAR.	Bales.
1866 . . .	2,193,987	1876 . .	4,659,288	1886 . .	6,550,215	1896 . .	7,162,473
1867 . . .	2,010,774	1877 . .	4,485,423	1887 . .	6,513,624	1897 . .	8,714,031
1868 . . .	2,593,993	1878 . .	4,812,065	1888 . .	7,017,707	1907 . .	11,180,960
1869 . . .	2,439,039	1879 . .	5,073,531	1889 . .	6,935,082	1899 . .	11,235,383
1870 . . .	3,154,946	1880 . .	5,757,397	1890 . .	7,313,726	1900 . .	9,439,559
1871 . . .	4,152,317	1881 . .	6,589,329	1891 . .	8,655,518	1901 . .	10,495,141
1872 . . .	2,974,352	1882 . .	5,435,845	1892 . .	9,038,707	1902 . .	10,701,453
1873 . . .	3,030,508	1883 . .	6,992,234	1893 . .	6,717,742	1903 . .	10,758,326
1874 . . .	4,170,388	1884 . .	5,714,052	1894 . .	7,527,211	1904 . .	10,193,686
1875 . . .	3,832,991	1885 . .	5,669,021	1895 . .	9,892,766	1905 . .	13,356,841

TABLE XVII—*Bonded Debts and Assessed Valuation of States.*
 (The assessed valuation of real and personal property does not exceed
 sixty per cent of the actual value.)

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Total assessed valuation.	Tax rate per \$1,000.	Bonded debt.
Alabama	\$344,224,221	\$.50	\$9,357,600
Arizona (a)	(d) 45,327,837	9.50	(f) 980,972
Arkansas (b)	249,779,108	5.34	1,287,347
California (a)	(e) 1,550,512,761	5.35	(k) 404,000
Colorado (c)	465,000,000	4.50	2,300,000
Connecticut	629,784,142	(g)	948,100
Delaware (b)	76,000,000	(h)	
District of Columbia (a)	108,488,413	15.00	14,284,650
Florida (c)	96,686,954	5.00	1,432,500
Georgia (a)	530,171,551	4.00	7,331,500
Idaho	75,281,087	5.08	1,099,000
Illinois (b)	1,083,050,979	5.20	None.
Indiana (c)	1,360,445,139	0.90	3,887,615
Iowa	559,272,799	3.00	None.
Kansas (a)	378,335,402	5.20	622,000
Kentucky	644,489,000	5.00	26,000
Louisiana (c)	301,215,222	.. .	10,877,800
Maine (a)	352,248,897	2.75	1,053,000
Maryland (b)	643,812,408	1.70	2,062,344
Massachusetts	4,105,651,085	.. .	(l) 15,576,595
Michigan (a)	1,529,969,350	1.70	None.
Minnesota	871,270,822	1.50	859,000
Mississippi (c)	222,847,525	6.00	2,887,006
Missouri (a)	1,377,997,201	1.70	4,985,838
Montana	209,912,340	2.50	(m) None.
Nebraska	304,470,961	7.00	None.
Nevada (c)	28,391,252	8.00	265,210
New Hampshire	225,082,628	20.00	393,706
New Jersey (c)	918,478,747	.. .	None.
New Mexico	42,617,848	1.50	768,618
New York	7,738,105,640	1.54	(a) 9,410,660
North Carolina	433,687,807	4.30	6,539,150
North Dakota (c)	117,204,485	4.50	1,006,393
Ohio (a)	2,113,806,168	1.35	None.
Oregon	188,058,281	5.45	None.
Pennsylvania (a)	4,166,330,404	.. .	4,718,875
Rhode Island (a)	444,144,066	1.80	2,700,000
South Carolina (a)	210,331,854	5.00	6,685,034
South Dakota (c)	173,206,733	3.20	588,300
Tennessee (a)	351,762,769	3.50	14,748,800
Texas	1,39,022,730	(i) 3.80	3,089,400
Utah (a)	49,663,004	8.00	900,000
Vermont	187,931,820	1.30	135,500
Virginia (c)	423,842,680	4.00	24,303,795
Washington	348,542,525	7.00	1,465,000
West Virginia	275,275,935	2.00	None.
Wisconsin	1,384,580,755	11.27	2,251,000
Wyoming	48,826,940	6.10	240,000

The returns are for the fiscal year 1905, except when otherwise indicated. (a) Fiscal year 1904. (b) Fiscal year 1903. (c) Fiscal year 1902. (d) Does not include value of mines, as they are not assessed; value estimated at \$100,000,000. (e) In this total are also included real estate improvements, \$316,208,126; money and solvent credits, \$42,906,248; value of railroads assessed, \$60,660,566. (f) Includes \$90,669,007 value of railroad property. (g) Values in different towns. (h) No State tax, the taxation is by each county. (i) Includes \$1.80 for school purposes. (j) County and city bonded debt, in addition, is \$2,044,303. (k) Bonded debt of counties, \$2,474,300 in addition. (l) Direct debt; the contingent debt is \$58,758,535. (m) Land grants, \$800,000.

TABLE XVIII.—*Presidential Elections.*

YEAR.	Candidates for president.	States.	Political party.	Popular vote.	Plurality.	Electoral vote.
1860 . .	Abraham Lincoln . Stephen A. Douglas . J. C. Breckinridge . John Bell	Ill. Ill. Ky. Tenn.	Rep. Dem. Dem. Union	1,866,352 1,375,157 845,703 585,581	491,795	180 12 72 39
1864 . .	Abraham Lincoln . George B. McClellan .	N. J.	Rep. Dem.	2,216,067 1,808,725	407,343	212 21
1868 . .	Ulysses S. Grant . Horatio Seymour .	N. Y.	Rep. Dem.	3,075,071 2,709,615	305,456	214 80
1872 . .	Ulysses S. Grant . Horace Greeley . Charles O'Conor . James Black . Thomas A. Hendricks . B. Gratz Brown . Charles J. Jenkins . David Davis .	Ill. N. Y. N. Y. Pa. Temp. Ind. Mo. Ga. Ill.	Rep. D. & L. Dem. Temp. Dem. Dem. Dem. Ga. Ind.	3,597,070 2,834,079 29,408 5,608	762,991	286
1876 . .	Samuel J. Tilden . Rutherford B. Hayes . Peter Cooper Green Clay Smith . James B. Walker .	N. Y. Ohio N. Y. Gre'nb. Ky. Ill.	Dem. Rep. Gre'nb. Pro. Amer.	4,284,885 4,033,950 81,740 9,522 2,636	250,935 .	184 185
1880 . .	James A. Garfield . W. S. Hancock James B. Weaver . Neal Dow John W. Phelps .	Ohio Pa. Iowa Me. Vt.	Rep. Dem. Gre'nb. Pro. Amer.	4,449,053 4,447,035 307,306 10,305 707	7,028 .	214 155
1884 . .	Grover Cleveland . James G. Blaine . John P. St. John . Benjamin F. Butler . P. D. Wigginton .	N. Y. Me. Kan. Mass. Cal.	Dem. Rep. Pro. Gre'nb. Amer.	4,911,017 4,846,334 151,809 133,825	62,683 .	219 182
1888 . .	Grover Cleveland . Benjamin Harrison . Clinton B. Fisk . Alson J. Streeter . R. H. Cowdry . James L. Curtis .	N. Y. Ind. N. J. Ill. U. L. U'd. L. N. Y.	Dem. Rep. Pro. Gre'nb. Amer.	5,538,233 5,440,216 249,907 148,105 2,808 1,591	98,017 .	168 233
1892 . .	Grover Cleveland . Benjamin Harrison . James B. Weaver . John Bidwell Simon Wing	N. Y. Ind. Iowa Cal. Mass.	Dem. Rep. Peop. Pro. Soc. L.	5,556,918 5,176,108 1,041,028 264,133 21,164	380,810 .	277 145 22
1896 . .	William McKinley . William J. Bryan . William J. Bryan . Joshua Levering . John M. Palmer . Charles H. Matchett . Charles E. Bentley .	Ohio Neb. Neb. Md. Ill. N. Y. Neb.	Rep. Dem. Peop. Pro. N. Dem. Soc. L. Nat.	7,104,779 6,356,133 6,502,925 132,007 133,148 30,274 13,969	601,854	271 176 .
1900 . .	William McKinley . William J. Bryan . John G. Woolley . Wharton Barker . Eugene V. Debs . Jos. F. Malloney . J. F. R. Leonard . Seth H. Ellis	Ohio Neb. Ill. Pa. Ind. Mass. Iowa Ohio	Rep. Dem. Pro. M. P. Soc. D. Soc. L. U. C. U. R.	7,207,923 6,356,133 208,914 50,373 87,814 39,739 1,959 5,098	849,790	292 155

TABLE XVIII—(Continued)

YEAR.	Candidates for president.	STATES.	POLITICAL PARTY.	POPULAR VOTE.	PLURALITY.	ELECTORAL VOTE.
1904 . .	Theodore Roosevelt .	N. Y. . .	Rep. . .	7,624,480	2,541,635	336
	Alton B. Parker .	N. Y. . .	Dem. . .	5,082,754	· · ·	140
	Eugene V. Debs .	Ind. . .	Soc. . .	402,286	· · ·	· · ·
	Silas C. Swallow .	Pa. . .	Pro. . .	258,787	· · ·	· · ·
	Thomas E. Watson .	Ga. . .	Peop. . .	117,935	· · ·	· · ·
	Charles H. Corrigan .	N. Y. . .	Soc. L. . .	32,088	· · ·	· · ·

TABLE XIX—Party Divisions in Congress since the Formation of the Republican Party in 1856.

CONGRESSES.	YEARS.	SENATE.					HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.				
		DEM.	REP.	AMER.	UNION.	IND.	DEM.	REP.	AMER.	UNION.	IND.
XXXV . . .	1857-1859	39	20	41	15	· · ·	131	93	14	· · ·	· · ·
XXXVI . . .	1859-1861	32	26	41	15	· · ·	101	113	23	· · ·	· · ·
XXXVII . . .	(a) 1861-1863	10	31	· · ·	9	· · ·	43	106	· · ·	28	· · ·
XXXVIII . . .	(a) 1863-1865	9	36	· · ·	9	· · ·	75	102	· · ·	· · ·	9
XXXIX . . .	1865-1867	22	43	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·	40	145	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·
XL . . .	1867-1869	11	42	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·	49	143	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·
XLI . . .	1869-1871	11	58	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·	78	151	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·
XLII . . .	1871-1873	17	57	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·	103	138	· · ·	(b) 5	· · ·
XLIII . . .	1873-1875	20	47	· · ·	(b) 7	· · ·	92	194	· · ·	24	· · ·
XLIV . . .	1875-1877	29	43	· · ·	(b) 3	· · ·	168	107	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·
XLV . . .	1877-1879	39	36	· · ·	(b) 1	· · ·	151	342	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·
XLVI . . .	1879-1881	44	32	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·	148	229	· · ·	(c) 16	· · ·
XLVII . . .	1881-1883	38	37	· · ·	(d) 1	· · ·	138	146	· · ·	(c) 10	· · ·
XLVIII . . .	1883-1885	36	(e) 42	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·	108	124	· · ·	(c) 1	· · ·
XLIX . . .	1885-1887	34	42	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·	204	120	· · ·	(c) 1	· · ·
L . . .	1887-1889	37	39	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·	168	153	· · ·	4	· · ·
LI . . .	1889-1891	37	39	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·	159	160	· · ·	(f) 9	· · ·
LII . . .	1891-1893	39	47	· · ·	(f) 2	· · ·	236	88	· · ·	(f) 8	· · ·
LIII . . .	1893-1895	44	38	· · ·	(f) 3	· · ·	280	126	· · ·	(f) 7	· · ·
LIV . . .	1895-1897	39	42	· · ·	(f) 5	· · ·	104	246	· · ·	(f) 6	· · ·
LV . . .	1897-1899	34	46	· · ·	(h) 10	(i) 134	206	· · ·	· · ·	(j) 10	· · ·
LVI . . .	1899-1901	26	53	· · ·	(i) 11	203	185	· · ·	· · ·	(k) 9	· · ·
LVII . . .	1901-1903	29	56	· · ·	(m) 3	153	198	· · ·	· · ·	(m) 5	· · ·
LVIII . . .	1903-1905	32	58	· · ·	· · ·	374	206	· · ·	· · ·	(o) 1	· · ·
LIX . . .	1905-1907	32	58	· · ·	· · ·	130	250	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·	· · ·

Parties as constituted at the beginning of each Congress are given. These figures were liable to change by contests for seats, etc. (a) During the Civil War most of the Southern States were unrepresented in Congress. (b) Liberal Republicans. (c) Greenbackers. (d) David Davis, Independent, of Illinois. (e) Two Virginia Senators were Readjusters, and voted with the Republicans. (f) People's party, except that in the House of Representatives of the Fifty-fourth Congress one member is classed as Silver party. (g) Three Senate seats were vacant (and continued so) and two Representative seats were unfilled (Rhode Island had not yet effected a choice) when the session began. Rhode Island subsequently elected two Republicans. (k) Five Populists, two Silver party, three Independents. (i) Including fifteen members classed as Fusionists. (j) Including three members classed as Silver party. There was one vacancy. (l) Six Populists, three Silver party. (l) Five Populists, one Silver party, two Independents, and three vacancies. (m) Three Populists, one Silver party, one Fusion party, one vacancy. (n) One Populist, one Silver party, one Fusionist, two vacancies. (o) Two Union Labor and two vacancies—one Democratic, one Republican.

[NOTE.—The above table is from the *New York World Almanac*. Political statistics always vary, but the *World Almanac* is a standard as well as popular authority.]

TABLE XX—*The National Banks of the United States.*
(From the annual report of the Comptroller of the Currency.)

YEAR ENDING SEPT. 1.	No. of banks.	Capital.	Surplus.	Total dividends.	Total net earnings.	Ratio of dividends to capital.
1880 . . .	2,072	\$454,275,062	\$120,145,649.00	\$36,111,473.00	\$45,186,034.00	8.02
1888 . . .	3,003	583,539,145	184,416,300.00	46,531,657.89	65,460,486.00	8.02
1889 . . .	3,170	596,309,518	194,818,102.19	46,618,000.27	66,618,205.07	7.82
1890 . . .	3,353	925,089,745	208,707,786.00	51,158,883.33	72,035,563.59	8.19
1891 . . .	3,577	666,108,261	232,706,568.00	50,795,017.00	75,763,614.00	7.70
1892 . . .	3,701	679,076,650	237,761,865.23	50,400,713.93	66,658,015.47	7.42
1893 . . .	3,759	684,342,024	246,918,673.11	49,633,195.99	68,758,952.09	7.25
1894 . . .	3,755	672,951,450	246,002,328.00	45,333,270.00	41,055,248.00	6.07
1895 . . .	3,716	660,287,065	247,466,002.00	45,769,003.00	46,866,557.00	6.96
1896 . . .	3,682	652,725,750	248,235,393.00	45,575,947.00	49,742,318.00	6.97
1897 . . .	3,680	638,173,895	249,044,048.00	42,394,941.00	44,273,134.00	6.64
1898 . . .	3,581	615,818,725	244,281,879.00	44,291,971.00	50,032,972.00	7.17
1899 . . .	3,501	608,674,895	247,930,970.00	46,691,502.00	54,340,662.00	7.67
1900 . . .	3,604	608,554,600	251,950,843.44	48,033,094.39	87,278,836.60	7.88
1901 . . .	3,596	633,511,286	268,451,548.00	51,699,779.00	81,853,797.00	9.05
1902 . . .	4,269	673,793,767	302,523,154.55	68,109,403.60	106,581,476.85	10.92
1903 . . .	4,700	732,797,306	353,105,524.93	63,505,843.10	109,881,530.97	8.79
1904 . . .	5,134	761,682,495	390,452,345.00	75,588,389.00	112,936,426.00	9.02
1905 . . .	5,505	776,175,576	407,643,159.00	73,138,174.00	105,909,185.00	8.95

RESOURCES AND LIABILITIES OF STATE BANKS, LOAN AND TRUST COMPANIES, SAVINGS AND PRIVATE BANKS, 1904-1905

CLASSIFICATION.	State banks. 7,794 banks.	Loan and trust compa- nies. 683 companies.	Savings banks. 1,237 banks.	Private banks. 1,028 banks.
<i>Resources.</i>				
Loans on real estate	\$123,415,609	\$144,394,593	\$1,206,697,230	\$23,657,361
Loans on other collateral security	128,399,159	965,617,090	50,015,970	14,802,461
Other loans and discounts	1,632,275,135	439,274,979	276,530,069	67,008,729
Overdrafts	22,824,975	340,401	871,349	1,630,254
United States bonds	3,001,511	1,902,430	13,323,532	408,104
State, county, and municipal bonds	11,558,283	17,657,332	136,408,556	3,762,086
Railroad bonds and stocks	924,350	31,606,449	321,476,258	4,508,687
Bank stocks	448,653	4,455,055	27,171,002	579,095
(Other stocks, bonds, and securities Due from other banks and bankers)	395,596,641	732,296,569	1,036,884,359	4,327,313
Total	468,014,866	324,745,058	154,849,294	27,320,788
<i>Liabilities.</i>				
Capital stock	\$379,756,040	\$243,133,622	\$26,101,294	\$22,518,193
Surplus fund	154,439,841	281,883,339	197,582,867	6,872,918
Other undivided profits	63,164,668	82,220,363	35,708,852	2,958,278
Dividends unpaid	629,922	378,499	· · · · ·	6,612
Individual deposits	2,365,209,630	1,980,856,737	3,093,077,357	127,937,098
Due to other banks and bankers	171,133,862	183,788,835	275,984	1,002,832
All other liabilities	56,577,475	94,303,084	15,443,593	2,889,364
Total	\$3,190,911,378	\$2,865,976,479	\$3,368,279,857	\$265,233,295
Total resources and liabilities of 10,742 banks, \$9,590,401,009.				

TABLE XXI

Mileage, Assets, Liabilities, Earnings, Expenditures, and Traffic of Surface Steam Railroads in the United States. Compiled from "Poor's Manual of Railroads of the United States for 1905."

Mileage of railroads	211,074.39	Miles of railroad operated	213,828.02
Second tracks and sidings	82,863.03	Passenger train mileage	441,156,024
Total track	293,937.42	Freight train mileage	543,539,369
Steel rails in tracks	282,229.35	Mixed train mileage	28,069,534
Iron rails in tracks	11,708.07	Total	1,012,751,907
Locomotives	48,658	Passengers carried	716,244,858
Cars, passenger	31,034	Passenger mileage	22,174,139,991
Cars, baggage, mail, etc.	10,947	Tons of freight moved	1,277,771,573
Cars, freight	1,728,903	Freight mileage	173,628,034,040
Total cars	1,770,884	<i>Traffic Earnings.</i>	
Capital stock	\$6,447,045,374	Passengers	\$456,342,380
Bonded debt (a)	7,475,840,203	Freight	1,374,102,275
Unfunded debt	172,619,537	Miscellaneous	147,194,068
Current accounts	516,404,128	Total traffic revenue	\$1,977,638,713
Sinking and other funds	190,213,456	Net earnings	\$639,240,087
Total liabilities	\$14,802,122,748	Receipts from other sources	81,357,891
Assets.		Total available revenue	\$720,597,918
Cost of railroad and equipment	\$11,664,191,134	<i>Payments.</i>	
Other investments	2,712,445,967	Interest on bonds	\$242,992,755
Sundry assets	408,808,136	Other interest	13,151,590
Current accounts	637,328,078	Dividends on stock	188,386,093
Total assets	\$15,422,873,315	Miscellaneous	54,557,670
Excess of assets over liabilities	\$620,750,567	Rentals—Interest	32,807,445
		Dividends	23,126,073
		Miscellaneous	18,180,396
		Taxes	54,325,856
		Total payments	\$627,977,878
		Surplus	\$92,620,020

(a) Including, in 1904, real estate mortgages, equipment trust obligations, etc., previously included in item "unfunded debt."

TABLE XXII—(1)

Principal Railway Systems of the United States. 1905.

LINE.	Mileage.	Gross income.
Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe	8,318	\$69,000,000
Atlantic Coast Line	8,273	64,000,000
Baltimore and Ohio	4,442	70,000,000
(Controlled by Pennsylvania and Vanderbilt lines.)		
Chicago, Burlington and Quincy	8,510	66,000,000
(A tripartite-controlled corporation.)		
Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul	6,901	50,000,000
Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific	7,502	47,000,000
Erie	2,147	22,000,000
Illinois Central	5,584	52,000,000
St. Louis and San Francisco	6,022	30,000,000
Great Northern	5,789	42,000,000
Northern Pacific	5,332	52,000,000
(The last two, with the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, belong to the Hill group.)		

(2)

LINE.	Mileage.	Gross income.
HARRIMAN GROUP:		
Southern Pacific	9,059	\$96,000,000
Union Pacific	2,956	60,000,000
Oregon Railway and Navigation Company	1,246	(Inc. above.)
PENNSYLVANIA GROUP:		
East and west of Pittsburgh	10,685	130,000,000
Norfolk and Western	1,834	52,000,000
Philadelphia and Reading	1,481	37,000,000
(Joint control with New York Central.)		
Long Island Railway	392	7,000,000
Central of New Jersey	640	23,000,000
Grand Rapids and Indiana	573	4,000,000
Vandalia System	832	8,000,000
(Also interest in other lines.)		
VANDERBILT GROUP:		
New York Central	3,849	85,000,000
"Nickel Plate"	523	9,000,000
Chicago and Northwestern	9,074	56,000,000
"Big Four" Route	2,330	22,000,000
Lake Erie and Western	880	5,000,000
Lake Shore and Michigan Southern	1,520	39,000,000
Michigan Central	319	22,000,000
(And others in part ownership.)		
GOULD GROUP:		
Missouri Pacific	6,236	47,000,000
Denver and Rio Grande	1,822	17,000,000
Rio Grande Western	715	—
International and Great Northern	1,159	6,000,000
St. Louis Southwestern	1,452	9,000,000
Wabash	2,577	25,000,000
Texas and Pacific	1,826	12,000,000
(Also ownership in affiliated lines.)		
MORGAN GROUP:		
Southern Railway	7,195	50,000,000
Georgia Southern	391	2,000,000
(And a large control in other lines.)		

The figures given are approximate, as the changes are frequent and the reports are not all for the same year. Most of them are from returns to the Interstate Commerce Commission for 1905 (fractions omitted).

The roads named in Part 1 of the foregoing table are the largest of the individually managed systems, but not all of them are independent. Under the Community of Interest system, there are a few groups of railways which actually are controlled by a single interest, although some of them are divided in allegiance. Thus, at this writing, control—if not absolute ownership—of the Baltimore and Ohio and the Philadelphia and Reading is divided between the Pennsylvania and the New York Central Railway interests, though divided up so as to obviate all legal difficulties.

The largest of the railway systems which are the most noteworthy of the Community of Interest system are given in Part 2. They cannot be arranged absolutely, since in some cases there is not ownership, but only control. At present they represent the principal “communities of interest” in the railway world. The situation changes from year to year, but most of the developments are in the line of consolidation of transportation interests. If the Supreme Court of the United States in the Northern Securities case had decided in favor of the corporation, it is undoubted that the centralizing policy would have been rapidly pursued, looking to a closely amalgamated control of all the transportation systems in the country. Some eminent sociologists hoped for this, because it seemed to lead to eventual State control.

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1861.	November 8. The Confederate commissioners, Mason and Slidell, seized on board the British steamer <i>Trent</i>	44
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